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ABSTRACT

Materials concerning dialects and language variation are presented here as background information for a workshop on English dialect differences in elementary and secondary schools. Articles and essays include: "Grammatical, Phonological and Language Use Differences across Cultures" (Walt Wolfram); "A Linguistic Description of Social Dialects" (Ronald Williams, Walt Wolfram); "Dialect Switching on Stigmatized Black English Grammatical Forms: Implications" (Howard A. Mims); "Potential Interference from Spanish on the Production of English" (Gustavo Gonzalez); "Rejection of Speaker's Dialect as Related to Rejection of Speaker's Culture" (Howard A. Mims); "Effects of Speaking Black English upon Employment Opportunities" (Sandra L. Terrell); "Cultural Influences in the Development and Treatment of Stuttering: A Preliminary Report on the Black Stutterer" (William R. Leith, Howard A. Mims); "Social Dialects: Position Paper" (Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities); "Implications of the Position on Social Dialects" (Lorraine Cole); "Improving Language Assessment in Minority Children" (Fay Boyd Vaughn-Cooke); "Some Possible Dialectal Biases in the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test for Speakers of Black English" (O. L. Taylor); "External Discrimination Behavior as Related to Black English Grammatical Variants" (Howard A. Mims; Carl T. Camden); "Congruity and Predictability between Two Measures of Nonstandard Dialect Usage on Four Grammatical Forms" (Howard A. Mims, Carl T. Camden); and "Bibliography: Dialects and Sociolinguistic Factors" (Howard A. Mims). Some newspaper articles, classroom materials, and instruments used in dialect analysis are also included. (MSE)

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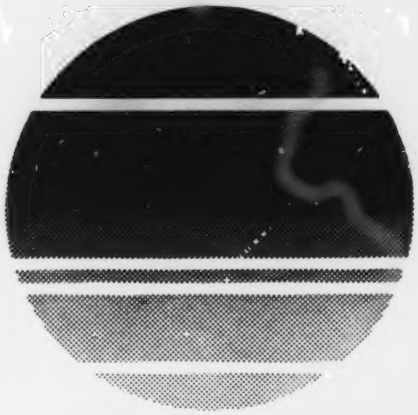

Dialect Differences in the Schools

SPH 491/538

CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY **SUMMER COURSES**

Workshop on

Dialect Differences in the Schools:

Educational, Social, and Economic Implications SPH 491/538

Designed for: Teachers • Speech-Language Clinicians • School Administrators • Reading Specialists • Others

June 26-28, 1986

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WORKSHOP ON

DIALECT DIFFERENCES IN THE SCHOOLS

Educational, Social and Economic Implications

SPH 491/538

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This material is to be used at various points during the workshop and there are readings provided to supplement the workshop lectures. It is suggested that participants in the workshop read as many of the items as possible in preparation for the various areas to be covered during the workshop. Even though there is a limited amount of time between the workshop sessions, extensive reading of the material is encouraged. The material is, of course, available for reference after the workshop has ended.

The materials are arranged in the order in which they will be covered in the workshop. A bibliography is provided for future reference.

Walt Wolfram
UDC and CAL
CSU

INTRODUCTORY NOTIONS

1. The Continuum of Standardness

Speaker

1. SE ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ NSE
Very Mild Slight Slight Mild Very

2. SE ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ NSE

3. SE ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ NSE

4. SE ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ NSE

5. SE ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ NSE

2. Alternative Values of Language Differences

Rate the Speakers in Terms of the Following Attributes

SE ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ NSE

Honest ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ Dishonest

Friendly ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ Unfriendly

Fluency ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ Disfluency

Relaxed ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ Unrelaxed

3. Divergence and Standard English

Rate the Speakers in Terms of the Following Dimensions

SE ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ NSE

Non-Accented ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ Accented

4. On the cognitive Basis of Linguistic Patterning

a. Following is a set of items that can have the final consonant deleted in a non-mainstream variety

wild
find
west
cold
desk
act
left
mind
wasp

b. Following is a set of items that cannot eliminate the final consonant in a non-mainstream variety

colt
belt
help
count
milk
jump
thank
mint

Language Patterning

Some dialects of English put an *a*-type sound before words that end in -*ing*, so that we get phrases like *a-huntin' we will go*. 'One scholar of the English language (Krapp 1925:268) said that "in popular speech almost every word ending in -*ing* has a sort of prefix, *a*-."

In the following pairs of sentences choose one of the sentences that sound appropirate in terms of adding an *a*-prefix. Select only one sentence from each pair.

1. a. John likes sailin'.
   b. John went sailin'.

2. a. The woman was comin' down the stairs.
   b. The movie was shockin'.

3. a. He makes money buildin' houses.
   b. He makes money by buildin' houses.

4. a. She got sick workin' so hard.
   b. She thought working was good for her.

5. a. Sadie was waitin' for an answer.
   b. Sadie kept waitin' for an answer.

6. a. Sam was followin' the trail.
   b. Sam was discoverin' the cave.

7. a. The dogs were eatin' the food.
   b. The dogs were drinkin' the water.

8. a. We went walkin' in the woods.
   b. We go walkin' in the woods.

9. a. The man was confessin' his crime.
   b. The man was hollerin' at the dogs.

10. a. I've never messed with dogs fightin'.
    b. I've never messed with fightin' dogs.

Reactions to be Forms

In at least one dialect of English, there is a form of be that is used where other dialects use forms such as am, is, are, or will be. We thus get sentences like He be fooling everybody. There's some question as to how this form is used, so we would like to get your reactions to this form. We are particularly interested in the reactions of people who do not normally use this form as a part of their speech.

The following sentence pairs each contain an am, is, are, or will be word in standard English. Choose which of the sentences you think would sound better with the be form, but choose only one sentence in each pair. If you are not sure, take your best guess. Encircle the sentence (either a or b) which you think sounds better with the form be.

1. a. His ears are itching right now.
   b. Sometimes his ears are itching.

2. a. When we play tennis he is my partner.
   b. The woman in the picture is my mother.

3. a. Every time I go there he is busy.
   b. I think he is busy today.

4. a. He will be home tomorrow.
   b. He is home today.

5. a. The man in the brown suit is my father.
   b. My father is my teacher when we go swimming.

6. a. He will be thirteen in three weeks.
   b. He is thirteen years old today.

7. a. Sometimes John is late for school.
   b. John is late for school today.

8. a. He is sleeping at the moment.
   b. Usually he is sleeping in the afternoon.

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Howard A. Mims
Cleveland State Univ.

PICTURE TEST OF MORPHOLOGICAL FORMS - RESPONSE RECORD FORM

Date:__________________ Number:_____

Forms	Responses
1. Noun - Plural /-z/	SE
2. Noun - Plural /-s/	SE
3. Noun - Plural /-iz/	SE
4. Noun - Irregular plural	SE
5. Noun - Possessive /-z/	BE - Its Joe book.
6. Noun - Possessive /-s/	BE - Mr. Smif car
7. Noun - Possessive /-iz/	BE - Its Alice doll
8. Verb - Concordance /-z/	BE - He play ball
9. Verb - Concordance /-s/	BE - She cook dinner
10. Verb - Concordance /-iz/	BE - He always catch a cold
11. Verb - Concordance /-Ø/	SE
12. Verb - Negative (do not)	SE
13. Verb - (does)	SE
14. Verb - Negative (does not)	SE
15. Verb - Special Allomorph (says)	BE - He always say "no."
16. Verb - Past Tense /-d/	BE - He burn it up
17. Verb - Past Tense /-t/	BE - She laugh at him.
18. Verb - Past Tense /-id/	BE - He start the motor
19. Verb - To be (is always)	SE
20. Verb - To be (am)	SE
21. Verb - To be (am not)	SE
22. Verb - To be (are)	SE
23. Verb - To be (are not)	SE
24. Verb - To be (is plus -ing)	SE
25. Verb - To be (is plus adj.)	SE
26. Verb - To be (is plus article)	SE
27. Verb - To be (is not)	SE
28. Verb - To be (was)	SE
29. Verb - To be (was not)	SE
30. Verb - To be (were)	BE - Mike and Pam was reading.
31. Verb - To be (were not)	BE - They was not ready.
32. Verb - Modal (will)	SE
33. Verb - Modal (would)	SE
34. Verb - Auxiliary (have)	SE
35. Verb - Auxiliary (have not)	SE

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RESPONSE RECORD FORM--Continued

36. Verb - Auxiliary (has)	SE
37. Verb - Auxiliary (has not)	SE
38. Pronoun - Possessive (mine)	BE - I would want this box to be mines
39. Pronoun - Possessive (their)	SE
40. Pronoun - Reflexive (himself)	SE
41. Adverb - Adjective +/-liy/	BE - She throws the ball smoothe
42. Concordance Plus Infinitive	BE - He like to play football.
43. Concordance Plus Gerund	BE - She enjoy singing with Joe.
44. Question (Is?)	SE
TOTAL	

GRAMMATICAL, PHONOLOGICAL AND LANGUAGE USE DIFFERENCES ACROSS CULTURES

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Grammatical Differences Across Languages

Introduction

Grammatical systems are continually undergoing change, and the results of various changes are reflected in the different varieties of the language. Variation may come from "within the language" itself as the system adjusts and readjusts its organization over time, or from "outside the language" as structures are adopted from other languages with which the language comes into contact. Thus, one dialect group on the rural South retains an older form of English in its use of the a- prefix in He was a- hunting while other groups have undergone a change which eliminates this form. At the same time, a developing variety of English in the Southwest, under the influence of contact with Spanish, may pick up the use of no as a sentence "tag" in He went to the store, no? The sources of influence in the two cases might be quite different, but the outcome is similar in that the variation differentiates dialects.

Kinds of Grammatical Differences

Morphemes: Grammatical variation may be discussed in terms of two basic levels of organization. One level relates to the way in which words are formed from their meaningful parts, or "morphemes," of the language. For example, a word such as girls combines two morphemes, the basic noun form girl and the plural suffix -s. A word such as buyers consists of three morphemes, the basic verb form buy, the agentive -er, which changes the word from a verb to a noun, and again, the plural morpheme -s. Different morphemes may have quite different functions.

The form -er in buyer changes the word class from a verb to a noun, and is called a "derivational morpheme." On the other hand, the plural -s of girls or buyers does not change the basic function of the word, and is called an "inflectional morpheme." Inflectional morphemes in English include the plural -s (e.g., girls, boys), third person singular -s (e.g., She goes), possessive -s (e.g., The girl's bike) past tense -ed (e.g., John guessed), progressive -ing (e.g., He is going), and comparatives -er and -est (e.g., smaller, smallest).

Inflectional morphemes are particularly susceptible to language variation. In some cases, the inflectional morphemes found in one variety of English may be absent in another variety. Thus, the current-day variety of standard English has a third person singular -s form (this pattern is reduced considerably from a more extensive set of person and number suffixes in earlier English) whereas a number of other English varieties do not have this form (e.g., He goes versus He go). The elimination of some inflectional morphemes is a reasonable process, given the fact that many of these morphemes carry little meaning in themselves (e.g., the notion of person and number in a sentence such as Such likes people is already contained in the subject of the sentence and -s adds no new information).

In another major difference among language varieties, irregular morphemes may be brought into conformity with the predominant regular pattern. Thus, the plural of ox may become oxes, in conformity with the regular plural pattern, or an irregular past form such as knew may become knowed, on the basis of the predominant regular inflectional pattern. Again, this is a quite natural development since there is pressure within language systems to "regularize" exceptions to predominant patterns. Many different varieties of English participate in this kind of variation, including native speaker varieties (i.e. cases where English is learned as a first language) and varieties whose speakers have learned English as a second language.

Although we often speak of native English variation and second language acquisition variation together, it is important to distinguish these two situations in our subsequent discussion. In the former case, variation has been stabilized and perpetuated as an integral part of a community dialect. In the latter case, the variation is transitional in nature, and many aspects of the variation will not end up as a part of the variety passed on to successive generations within the community. Variation in second language acquisition also tends to be much more individualistic in terms of how extensive the differences are, as it correlates with the stage of English acquisition. Both types of situations exist in the English varieties discussed here. A dialect such as Vernacular Black English is a prime example of native English dialect, since it is generations away from its original source languages. At the other extreme is a variety which we might refer to as Vietnamese English, where most speakers exhibit variation stemming from the second language acquisitional process. Still other varieties, such as some American Indian English and Hispanic English varieties, fall between these extremes, with some aspects of variation due to the acquisitional process and others firmly established in the variety of English carried on the subsequent generations of speakers, including those who are native speakers of English. Because the minority groups under discussion here include both types of situations, they shall be discussed together, but it is important to keep this distinction in mind throughout this discussion.

One of the important findings of second language acquisition studies in the 1970's (Burt & Kiparsky, 1972; Dulay & Burt, 1974; Bailey, Madden & Krashen, 1984) was the discovery that native language background seemed to have little effect on the kinds of variations that took place in English morphology. To a large extent, processes such as the elimination of inflectional morphemes and regularization of irregular forms take place regardless of the language background of the speaker. For example, native Chinese speakers, coming from a system with virtually no inflectional morphology, native Spanish speakers, with an inflectional system showing both similarities and differences compared with English, and native Navajo speakers, with an extensive inflectional system very different from English, will all reveal similar kinds of variation in their morphology (e.g. third person -s absence or past tense absence). This is because the kinds of processes involved in these variations relate to general strategies of language learning and cognitive patterning. These are, of course, the same kinds of processes that have affected English from within through time, as some earlier inflectional morphemes have been lost and earlier irregular forms have been regularized. It is important to emphasize again that such adjustment and variation is completely natural in language, a reflection of the innate human organizational capacity.

Syntax: The other major level of grammatical organization is the "syntax" of the language, where the words are combined into larger structures such as phrases and sentences. There are several aspects of syntax affected in language variation. First, there is variation in the basic kinds of word classes found in the syntax. For example, English uses an "article" (e.g., a, the) with many kinds of noun phrases (e.g., the old man, a man), but many other language without articles (e.g., Japanese, Vietnamese) may often leave out the articles of English (e.g., Old man take it; He like man).

Another example of a word class difference involves the English auxiliary, which includes the progressive (e.g., He is going; They were coming), modal (e.g., She will go; She should come), perfect (e.g., They have gone; They have eaten), and passive (e.g., They were beaten; The food was eaten). Some systems do not have anything comparable to the English auxiliary system, whereas others have similarities and differences. Given the structures included in the English auxiliary system, speakers from quite different language backgrounds may show variation in the use of auxiliaries. Some speakers, coming from backgrounds without a comparable category of auxiliary (e.g., Vietnamese, Chinese), may not use particular auxiliary structures (e.g., He beat by someone; He not go to the store; or vary the use of forms (e.g., Do I must go to the store; I have impressed with your house). Other systems, with both similarities and differences, may show particular kinds of difference. For example, Spanish has a number of the same auxiliaries as English, but does not have a form comparable to *do*, so that this form may be absent in certain Hispanic English structures (e.g., *He no went to store*). Native language language varieties may also develop different sets of auxiliaries, such as the use of *be* in Vernacular Black English as a marker of a habitual activity (e.g., *His ears be itching*), the use of *done* to refer to completed action (e.g., *She done went home*), or "double modals" (e.g., *She might could do it*).

A second type of syntactic variation involves the relations between structures in the sentence rather than the basic categories of structures. For example, agreement patterns between subject and verb in English (e.g., *I was there; You were there*) or the use of different forms of the indefinite depending on the use of other negatives in the sentence (e.g., *He didn't do nothing/anything*) relate to relationships between structures within the sentence. These kinds of patterns often may be regularized (e.g., *I was there; You was there*) or "extended" (e.g., the negative indefinite is used in all negative sentences) in language variation.

Another type of relationship often affected by language differences is "case," where particular grammatical functions such as subject, object, and possession are marked explicitly (e.g., "I" is the subject form in *I go home*, "me" is the object form in *John likes me*, and "her" is the possessive form in *It is her book*). Speakers learning English as a second language will often show significant variation in case usage (e.g., *Him took she book*) whereas speakers of native varieties of English may reveal minor variations in case use (e.g., *Me and him went home*; *It is they book*).

The use of pronouns to refer to participants introduced previously in conversation is a further example of an important relationship between different structures. In some cases, language variation may result in the absence of pronouns (e.g., *My father so good. Brought us all over here; I am waiting until find the right person*). Although some cases of this type are general to all speakers of English as a second language, particular patterns of pronoun usage in a first language

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(e.g., Spanish can incorporate the pronoun within the verb form) may be reflected in the English difference.

A third type of syntactic difference involves the linear arrangement of structures. Sequences of structures and words within a sentence may vary considerably. In some cases, this affects major categories such as subject, verb, and object. The predominant pattern of standard English declarative sentences places the subject before the verb and the object after the verb (e.g., The woman likes the class) but other languages have different sequences which might be reflected in the English variety. For example, a sentence such as The woman the class likes reflects a subject-object-verb order as found in a language such as Navajo or Japanese. A sentence such as Use many countries English reflects an verb-subject-object order as found in the Phillipine languages, Tagalog and Ilocano. Significant differences in subject-verb-object orders are found most often in second language variation as direct influence of native language patterns different from those of English.

Other differences in order may relate to the placement of words within phrases. For example, the objective might follow the noun rather than precede it for a Spanish speaker transferring the Spanish pattern to English (e.g., He went to the Club country for He went to the country Club). Similarly, the negative particle comes before the verb phrase in Spanish (e.g., He no could go with me), as opposed to placement after the first auxiliary in English (e.g., He could not go with me), a pattern which may be transferred to English verb phrases. Variation in the order of native English varieties is not nearly as extensive as that found in second languages, and typically involves extensions of predominant patterns, such as the use of declarative word order with wh-questions (e.g., What that was? Where he was yesterday?) or extensions of adverb positions (e.g., We'd all the time get into trouble; Did ever a stray animal come to your house?). Major differences in order typically come from outside the system, as different language systems transfer their influence to English syntax, whereas minor adjustments may come from within the language as dominant patterns of ordering get extended.

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Some Sensitive Grammatical Structures

There is a recurring set of structures sensitive to language acquisition situations and others represent natural adjustments to English varieties no longer under the direct influence of other languages. In the following sections, some of the major structures subject to variations are presented briefly, with the understanding that a given variety of English will be characterized by its particular combination of differences.

Verbs: Verbs are among the structures most subject to variation across the varieties of English. As mentioned earlier, one difference involves the absence of verbal inflections, including: 1) past tense (e.g., Yesterday, he mess up), 2) progressive -ing (e.g., He is go to the store), and 3) third person singular, present tense -s (e.g., He go to the store). The absence of past tense and progressive -ing are mostly found in second language acquisition variation, particularly for varieties where there is no comparable structure in the native language, whereas third person -s absence occurs in both second language acquisition and native language dialects. Irregular forms of the verb are also quite sensitive to variation. In some cases, regularization may take place (e.g., past tense know becomes knowed or the agreement pattern of be is regularized as in I was, you was, he/she was, etc.); in other instances, shifts between form uses take place (e.g., past forms used for participle forms as in He has come here or participle forms extended to past forms as in She seen him).

Another common variation in verbs is the absence of the copula or "linking verb" be (e.g., He ugly; you nice). Such absence is found in both second language and native language varieties.

Verb Auxiliaries: Verb auxiliaries are also quite subject to language variation. In some cases, auxiliaries may simply be absent (e.g., He taken the test before; He going home) while in other cases the functions of different forms are extended (e.g., The man has forgotten by people; he was arrived early). The latter case is found only in situations where English is learned as a second language, particularly when the first language has no comparable structures (e.g., Vietnamese, Navajo).

In native English varieties such as Vernacular Black English, the inventory of auxiliary structures may be expanded, so that the use of He *done* to refer to a completed activity (e.g., *He done messed up*) or the use of *been* to refer to an event that took place in remote time (e.g., *They been know that for a long time now*) constitute additions to the basic inventory of auxiliary structures.

Negatives: Two aspects of negatives are usually affected in language variation. Sometimes the form of the negative varies, so that forms such as *no* (e.g., *I no have the book*), found in Spanish-influenced varieties as well as other varieties where English is a second language, or the retention and extension of the older English *ain't* as found in native English varieties (e.g., *She ain't done*; *She ain't do it*) differentiate varieties. The use of indefinite forms with negatives, and is found in both second language native language varieties. Although these aspects of negation constitute a minor change structurally, they have become stereotypic, highly stimatized forms.

Nouns: The major variation in nouns is in the inflectional suffixes, including the plural and possessive. In both cases, the suffixes may be absent (e.g., *three boy*; *the boy hat*). All second language varieties may be affected by this variation. Native English varieties may be affected as well, but not usually to the extent that second language varieties are.

Pronouns: Various forms of pronouns are subject to language variation. In part, this is due to the fact that pronouns still retain case markings such as subject, (e.g., *I*, *he*), object (e.g., *me*, *him*). and possessive (e.g., *my*, *his*). The variation typically involves leveling some of the case functions (e.g., *Me and him did it*; *She took they book*) and regularizing irregular forms (e.g., *mines* as a possessive by analogy with *his*, *hers*, *yours*, etc.). More extensive shifts are typically found in second language varieties (e.g., *me is going*; *It is she book*) than native speaker varieties. Second language variation may also be typified by pronominal absense (e.g., *Bought the car*; *John take to get the car*), and variation in the form of pronouns (e.g., *The man what I told you about*), whereas native speaker dialects seem typified by minor variation in the forms of pronouns.

Articles: For native speaker varieties of English, there are very few differences related to articles. This is not the case for speakers of English as a second language, particularly those varieties which do not have comparable forms in their native language (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese). Most typically, the article is absent (e.g., *Man saw dog*), but some initial acquisition of articles in English will also result in the extension of articles beyond those required in standard English (e.g., *He drove to the Virginia*). The specification of definite and indefinite articles may also be affected (e.g. *She got the toothache last night*) in individual cases, along with special quantifier forms such as *much* and *many* (e.g., *The store has much cabbage patch dolls*).

Adverbs: As mention earlier, the position of adverbs in the sentence is subject to some variation in both native speaker and second language varieties of English (e.g., *He all the time likes school*). Special kinds of adverb suffixes may also be subject to variation, such as the use of -*ly* absence (e.g., *She came from the South original*). Irregular comparative and superlative forms may also be regularized (e.g., *gooder*, *awfulest*, *most awfullest*). More extended variation to comparative clauses with *than* (e.g., more...than) may be found in second language varieties (e.g., *George looks badder Mary*). Finally, shifts in the kinds of items used as adverbs may take place, such as the retention of older English intensifyiing adverbs *right* or *plumb* (e.g., *She is right smart*; *He acted plumb foolish*) as found in some native English varieties. In some varieties of Hispanic English, hardly may be used in both positive and negative sentences (e.g., *Hardly everything's Puerto Rican*, meaning 'practically everything's Puerto Rican'), which contrasts with its standard English restriction to negative sentences.

Prepositions: As a word class, prepositions are highly susceptible to variation, but it is difficult to specify general rules covering the differences. In some cases, the semantic reference of a preposition in one variety may be extended to cover broader semantic area than the preposition in another variety (e.g., *He put the cover in the chair*, where *in* covers the reference area of in and on for a speaker for an English variety directly influenced by Spanish) while in other cases,

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different forms of prepositions are simply associated with specific phrases (e.g., He got sick to/at/on/in his stomach). Although there are many differences in prepositional usage, they usually have to be dealt with on an item-by-item basis.

Conclusion

This presentation of structures has been brief and selective, but it should underscore the natural, dynamic nature of language variation, both in native language and second language varieties. Some aspects of grammatical variation take place regardless of the historical language background, but there are other aspects that are quite sensitive to the influence of the background language so that some structural details of specific language background is usually needed to complete the picture of such variation.

Phonological Differences Across Languages

Introduction

Phonological differences across languages and dialects are among the most obtrusive characteristics of language. We acquire the ability to perceive these dialect differences relatively early in life (as early as three to five years of age) and throughout our life we observe how people from different regions and language backgrounds pronounce words differently from the way we do. These differences are fascinating to both lay people and professionals alike, as most people comment on the "accent" of the local people they encounter while traveling, or those who come into their community from different regions.

Phonological variation is a very natural development in language, as all living languages undergo continual change. One source of variation comes "from within the language" itself, as languages naturally adjust and readjust their phonological systems over time. Today's standard English is much different from that spoken centuries ago, as some sounds have been lost and others changed. For example, the current spelling gh in *through* or *bought* once represented a sound (pronounced something like the German *ch* [x]) which has since been lost, and the vowel of *best* and *meek* has changed its phonetic value from [e] to [i] through the centuries.

Other sound differences come from "outside the language", as English has adopted sounds from other languages with which it has come into contact. Thus, the introduction of the phoneme /ʒ/ into English (e.g., *azure*, *leisure*) is attributable to the influence of French borrowings into English. At this point, the sound is an integral part of the standard English phonological system, but its introduction came directly from another language.

Current phonological variation in English results from processes no different from those that have molded the structure of English phonology over time. Some of these differences simply reflect various rates of language change within English, as some structures have undergone change while others have resisted it. For example, the pronunciation of voiced fricatives such as /ð/, /z/, and /v/ as stops before nasal sounds (e.g., *sebm* for *seven*, *headen* for *heathen*, or *wadn't* for *wasn't*) is currently a process found only in Southern-based, socially stigmatized dialects of English, but it is a quite natural process that might affect a wide range of English dialects eventually. On the other hand, the pronunciation of *ask* as *aks*, which is found in some of these same varieties, represents the retention of an older English form (a quite standard form in its day) that resisted the change of standard English. In some cases, the rate of natural change is accelerated in one variety and in other cases it is slowed down, but the effect is the same as one variety ends up different from another.

Other differences in current English varieties reflect the peculiar language contact history of a group of speakers. For example, the pronunciation of standard English /ʃ/ as /tʃ/ in some Hispanic-English dialects is a reflection of Spanish language background, where /tʃ/ is not contrasted with /ʃ/ (typically only /tʃ/ is found). Similarly, a Vietnamese English speaker may pronounce this /ʃ/ as /s/ (e.g., *wish* as *wis*), reflecting influence from the Vietnamese language, which does not differentiate either /ʃ/ or /tʃ/ from /s/. Again, these changes "from outside" are really no different from those that have affected English historically, but the particular language of influence (e.g., Spanish or Vietnamese) and the acceptance of such variation into the mainstream system set it apart from the historical influence on English phonology. In some cases, variation from outside is transitional, occurring simply as a function of learning English as a second language. In other cases, changes from outside may be incorporated into a more stable, community variety of English which is passed on to successive generations of speakers who learn English as a first language. In this discussion, it is important to separate native speaker phonological variation from second language variation although both types of situations characterize the language communities under discussion here.

Kinds of Phonological Differences

There are several ways in which phonological differences may be manifested. One case involves the use of a common phoneme which is simply pronounced differently in certain varieties of English. For example, most native dialects of English have a phoneme represented as /æ/ (e.g., *bat*, *mad*) or /ɔ/ (e.g., *bought*, *cough*), but the way in which the phoneme is produced phonetically varies considerably from one dialect to another. This is a case where the alternative pronunciations have evolved for the most part from within the English language as it has spread out over space and time. In another instance, such variation may come from outside the system. For example, the particular pronunciation of the /r/ phoneme in English differs from that of many languages, and speakers influenced by other languages (e.g., Spanish, many Asian languages) may pronounce this phoneme differently in various stages of acquiring English as a second language.

A second kind of variation involves eliminating contrasts between the basic phonemes of a language. For example, Spanish speakers may not contrast /s/ with /z/ in English (e.g., *Sue* and *zoo* would not be distinguished), or Vietnamese speakers would not distinguish /s/ from /ʃ/ in English (e.g., *see* and *she* would not be distinguished). In these cases, an English phonological contrast is lost because the lack of contrast in the native language system is "transferred" to English. From within the language, the contrast between sounds may also be lost in certain phonetic contexts, so that the vowel of *sure* would not be distinguished from that in *shore* in some varieties of English, or the vowel in *pin* would not be distinguished from the vowel of *pen* in other varieties.

Finally, there are differences in presence or absence of particular phonemes. For example, some dialects of English will delete /r/ after a vowel (e.g., *ca'd* for *card* or *bea'* for *bear*) and others will delete an initial *w* in items such as *good 'un* for *good one* or *young 'un* for *young one*. By the same token, some dialects will insert a *t* in *clifft* or *acrosst*. These are differences that have developed from within English itself, and have now become socially and regionally significant. There are a number of English varieties which also have lost items because of the influence of another language. Thus, varieties of English influenced by romance languages such as Spanish, many American Indian languages such as Navajo, or many Asian languages such as Chinese will show the reduction of consonant clusters at the end of a word (e.g., *wes'* for *west* or *fin'* for *find*) because the "source" language does not have these consonant combinations.

In describing the various kinds of phonological differences, it is important to include information about the phonetic environment. Sounds are greatly influenced by their phonetic environment, and phonological differences between varieties are typically very sensitive to this factor as well. By phonetic context here, we are referring to 1) positions in words (e.g., in word initial position, /θ/ becomes a stop as in *tink* for *think*; in word-final position, /θ/ becomes a stop as in *baf* for *bath*); 2) surrounding sounds (e.g., /ɛ/ before nasals becomes /I/ so that *ten* is pronounced the same as *tin*; /t/ between *s* and *r* may become /k/, as in *skreet* for *street* or *skream* for *stream*); or 3) prosodic or suprasegmental structures such as stress (e.g., unstressed /ŋ/ may become *n* as in *singin'* for *singing;* unstressed initial syllables may be lost as in *'bove* for *above,* or *'lectricity* for *electricity*).

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The Social Dimension

Although phonological differences are quite noticeable to most speakers of English, they typically are not as socially significant as grammatical differences. In part, this is due to the strong regional and language background factor attached to pronunciation differences, particularly for the vowels. When citing vowel differences of English speakers (e.g., the pronunciation of the vowels [I] and [ɛ] before nasals), it is always necessary to specify a regional distribution in addition to a social and/or ethnic one. Overall, consonant differences are not quite as sensitive to regional differences as vowels, but there is still a strong regional component that must be considered when discussing the distribution of consonants such as /l/ (e.g., the loss of /l/ before a labial consonant such as he'p for help or woof for wolf) or /r/ (e.g., the loss of /r/ following vowels).

For English varieties influenced directly by other languages, the phonological differences usually reflect the imposition of patterns from the native or source language. In most cases, the resulting system is identifiable in terms of the language family history. For example, a speaker of English from an Asian language not differentiating /r/ and /l/ might predictably alternate these English sounds (the stereotypical alternation of l and r in rice and lice). A speaker from a romance language background would typically distinguish the /r/ and /l/ but would pronounce them differently from the native English speaker. In both cases, the differences would systematically reflect the language history, but in different ways. The result is often an identifiable social and ethnic variety of English. Thus, the phonology of Hispanic varieties of English would be distinct from a Navajo variety of English by virtue of the phonological features of Spanish and Navajo that are transferred into the English system. Understanding something about the source language background is essential in these cases, since the influence of the first language is usually quite direct. For native English dialects, it is essential to determine both the regional and social background of speakers as a basis for understanding the normal dimensions of phonological variation.

Sensitive Phonological Structures in English

The examination of a wide range of English varieties reveals a recurring set of structures that show variation. Some of these items involve the basic inventory of English sound segments, such as /θ/ and /ð/, while others affect the sequencing of sounds, such as the combinations of consonant clusters that occur at the end of words. The sensitivity of these structures to variation is due, in part, to some unique features of English phonology and, in part, to the inherent phonetic structure of some of the sounds or sequences of sounds themselves. Other sources which treat the features in more detail (e.g., Wolfram & Fasold, 1974; Williams & Wolfram, 1977; Wolfram, 1985) should be consulted for a more comprehensive description.

Word-Final Clusters: Very few languages in the world have a set of final consonant clusters or blends as extensive as English. In fact, it is somewhat unnatural for languages to sequence final consonants as standard English currently does, and a natural variation is the reduction of such clusters (e.g., west, find, or cold become wes', fin', and col', respectively). Most of the minority group language varieties considered here participate to some extent in a final cluster reduction process, although the extent of the application will vary from variety to variety. A dialect such as Vernacular Black English limits cluster reduction to those clusters ending in a stop such as /t/ or /d/ (e.g., tes', wil'), whereas a variety such as Vietnamese English may extend it to other final segments (e.g., bok or bo' for box or lap or la' for lapse) because of the limited extent to which consonants occur at the ends of words in the source language.

Word-Initial Clusters: English also has a fairly extensive set of word-initial consonant clusters. These initial clusters may vary as well, although they never seem to be affected as much as final clusters. Once again, the differences reflect language background. For example, the initial sk and st may be changed by native Spanish speakers by inserting a vowel (e.g., eschool for school or estate for state). This change accomodates the Spanish pattern in which st and sk are always preceded by a vowel. A group from another language background might reduce these clusters, producing either *s'ate* or *'tate* for *state* or *s'ool* or *'kool* for *school*. This pattern is found in Vietnamese English, for example, where it accommodates the Vietnamese system in which this cluster is not found. Dialects more removed from the direct source language historically (e.g., Vernacular Black English, some American Indian English varieties) reveal relatively little variation in initial clusters.

Final Consonant Singletons: English also has a fairly extensive set of final consonant singletons, which may undergo change when in contact with other systems. The most common differences are deletion of the final consonant (e.g., *goo'* for *good*) or the use of a cognate voiceless sound (e.g., *goot* for *good*). To a large extent, the historical language background will dictate the particular consonants affected by the variation.

Interdental Fricatives /θ/ and /ð/: The interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are among the sounds most susceptible to phonological variation in English because of their status within the system (e.g., few contrasts are based on this set and they are phonetically quite involved). The predominant alternatives include a stop (e.g., *dose* for *those*, *tink* for *think*) and fricative (e.g., *sink* for *think*; *baf* for *bath*). The particular sound used for /θ/ and /ð/ is quite dependent upon the phonetic context of the sound (e.g., word-initial versus word-final, surrounding sounds such as a nasal) and the historical language source.

The Liquids /r/ and /l/: The English pronunciations of /r/ and /l/ are relatively rare, making them vulnerable to variation. Following vowels, these sounds are often absent (e.g., *ca'd* for *card*; *he'p* for *help*) or reduced to a vowel-like sound. In word-initial position, the /r/ or /l/ are retained, with some different pronunciations found in varieties where English is the second language.

Palatal Fricatives /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/: In situations where English is learned as a second language, the palatal fricatives are often changed to conform to the source language system. For example, Spanish has only one of these phonemes, /tʃ/, so that the other members of the set may be changed to /tʃ/ (e.g., *wish* becomes *witch*; *ridge* becomes *rich*). Other varieties, based on a system not including the palatal sounds, may use /s/ or /t/ (e.g., *wis* for *wish*, *wit* for *witch*).

Vowels: Another characteristic that sets English apart from other languages is the number of vowel phonemes in English (with as many as 12 or 13 different vowel phonemes, depending upon the interpretation). One characteristic of many vowels is their gliding nature. Basic vowel units often consist of vowels gliding into other vowels, such as the vowels of *eight* or *boat*, which are actual [ei] and [oU] phonetically. Vowel differences are among the most directly transferable items to another language, and the closer a variety is to its source language historically, particularly where English is learned as a second language, the more extensive the influence will be. Quite typically, contrasts between /i/ (e.g., *beet*, *leap*) and /I/ (e.g., *bit*, *lip*), /ɛ/, (e.g., *bet*, *let*) and (/ae/ (e.g.,*bat*, *lap*), /u/ (e.g., *Luke*, *coop*) and /U/ (e.g., *look*, *put*), /a/ (e.g., *father*, *calm*) and /æ/ (e.g., *cut*, *above*), and /o/ (e.g., *boat*, *vote*) and /ɔ/ (e.g., *bought*, *caught*) are affected. This can be a fairly imposing set of vowel contrasts affected by language transfer. The nature of the source language system must be examined closely to determine which of these contrasts will be affected in English.

For most English varieties no longer under the direct influence of another language, changes in basic vowel contrasts are usually limited to a restricted set of phonetic contexts (e.g., the case of the vowels in *pen* and *pin* where the contrast is only eliminated before nasals). the most dialectally sensitive vowels within native varieties are probably /ɔ/ and /æ/.

Conclusion

This brief survey of phonological differences shows that they result from quite natural developments of language over time and space. The variation may come from within the language itself or from the imposition of phonological patterns from another language. There are some common phonological structures of English that are particularly sensitive to change, but the way in which the differences are manifested is usually specific to the source language background of the community.

It is reasonable to expect that speech-language pathologists and audiologists in a multicultural setting have an adequate grasp of the normal phonological differences of the populations they serve. In some cases, there are available descriptions of these varieties, but in other cases the speech-language pathologist or audiologist may have to assume a practical research role, by collecting data about the phonological systems of languages that influence the English variety and by noting the regular patterns that characterize particular communities. These descriptions should include information about the particular phonetic production, the phonetic context in which the sound change occurs, and appropriate social observations about speakers who use the form. As observers of linguistic behavior, speech-language pathologists and audiologists should be in an excellent position to contribute to the understanding of many types of dialect differences, as they apply analytical skills that focus on the systematic patterns of phonological variation.

Language Use Differences Across Languages

Introduction

Language involves considerably more than the simple transmission of literal content. In every language, there are a variety of ways available to convey the same information, and the choice of a strategy to communicate something must take into account a number of different social and cultural factors. Knowledge as to when and how to use various forms is just as important in effective communication as the knowledge of grammatical and phonological rules. Futhermore, the failure to abide by the conventions for language use can lead to significant social dissonance and conflict. In fact, some of the communication breakdowns between different social and ethnic groups in our society are reflected acutely in the failure to understand how language is used in different situations.

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Considerations of language use enter into a number of areas of clinical concern. Over the last decade, there has been an increasing concern with assessment and remediation related to a broader communication base, and there now exist a number of diagnostic and therapeutic programs related to language use rather than language form. Furthermore, considerations of language use can be critical in the social interaction that clinicians have with clients and caretakers from a variety of social groups. In a multicultural setting, the purpose of communication often becomes more important than the structure of the language forms.

There are a number of different ways in which language use might be discussed, but we shall examine it in terms of two major categories, "language pragmatics" and "conversational organization." In reality, of course, the notions of pragmatics and conversational organization are inseparable as they combine in the communication process.

Pragmatics

The term pragmatics refers to how the forms of language are used to carry out the particular functions of language in its social setting. The important issues concern WHAT to say, to WHOM, WHEN, and WHERE. There are a number of different notions that have been treated as part of pragmatics, and several of these have particular relevance in a multicultural setting. One important concept in communication is the "speech act," which refers to the social action that is accomplished through the use of language, such as directing a person to carry out an activity, making a promise to someone, or apologizing for a behavior. From this perspective, the speaker's REASON for communicating is central. Although there are many ways to form sentences, there are a limited number of behavioral functions that can be carried out. Among the basic types of speech acts are the following:

1) directives, in which a person is directed to do or stop doing something (e.g., "Say the word for me!); 2) commissives, such as promises or pledges, in which the speaker is committed to some future course of action (e.g., "I'll be there in a minute");

3) expressives, in which the speaker's feeling about something is expressed (e.g., "I'm sorry I missed therapy yesterday");

4) representatives, in which the speaker expresses a belief in the truth or falsity of something (e.g., "She gave the test to the clinician"); and

5) declarations, in which the statement brings about a change in the state of affairs by its very utterance (e.g., "I am appointing you supervisory clinician for today")

Within each basic speech act, there are a number of more specific actions, so that ordering, requesting, and commanding are particular kinds of directives, and apologizing, congratulating, and thanking are particular kinds of expressives.

All languages and dialects are quite capable of performing the same basic kinds of speech acts, but how the speech acts are carried out and the conditions under which they are appropriate may vary considerably. Statements may be softened and made less direct, or they may be strong and direct. For example, consider the range of sentences that might be to direct a client to practice a particular exercise:

Do this exercise!
Can you do this exercise?
Would you mind doing this exercise?
Let's try this exercise?
This exercise will help.

Each of these sentences may "do" the same thing in terms of directing the client to perform the exercise, but with varying degrees of directness, ranging from the direct command to perform the exercise (grammatically, the imperative form) to the indirect statement of the reason for doing the exercise (grammatically, the declarative sentence). Particular utterances are appropriate for some situations and not others. Thus, a parent in the home might not hesitate to tell a child directly to perform the exercise; on the other hand, a young clinician working with an older, respected client might use a more indirect strategy for carrying out the directive. The situational context and social relationships of the participants are important factors that go into defining the appropriateness of different utterances in these cases.

Given the variety of factors that have to be taken into account by a native speaker of English in choosing a strategy for carrying out a speech act, it is easy to imagine how problematic the appropriate choice of a strategy can become in a multicultural context. One type of difference involves the use of a more direct form of the speech act than that called for by the conventions of the mainstream variety. For example, a caretaker from a Spanish-speaking background might make a request for a document from a clinician by simply saying "Give me the test results please!" thinking that the statement is sufficiently polite because of the inclusion of the word "please." The conventional usage of English, however, would call for a more indirect strategy such as "could I possibly see the test results?" or "I would like to see the test results." Unfortunately, many of these cases of direct speech acts may be misinterpreted as rudeness and discourtesy by a native English speaker when they simply indicate different conventions for the use of direct and indirect strategies in speech acts.

Related to the notion of how language is used to accomplish various speech acts is the difference between literal and non-literal language use. For example, a statement such as "what are you doing" may have both a literal and non-literal interpretation depending upon the context. It may be interpreted literally as a request for explanation in one context, such as a classroom where a student asks this question to a teacher. However, if a teacher utters this sentence upon entrance into a classroom of misbehaving children, it is not a literal request for information but an indirect directive to stop their misbehaving. In fact, if the children were to respond to the question as a literal request (e.g., by answering "We're playing tag"), this might evoke a further, more direct reprimand from the teacher such as, "Don't act smart!"

The distinction between literal and non-literal content is not always obvious, particularly in a cross-cultural setting where both the structure of the form and the situational knowledge must be shared by the participants for the communication to be carried out successfully. For example, in English, a casual greeting such as "How are you?" is not to be taken as a literal request soliciting a report on an individual's physical or mental state; instead, it is simply a ritualistic greeting expressing polite acknowledgement of another person. A native Spanish speaker, however, might interpret this literally as a request for such a report on the person's state of health in accordance with the conventions of language use in Spanish. This, in turn, may be met by impatience and discomfort on the part of the native English speaker who did not intend this as a literal request for information.

The failure to distinguish between literal and non-literal intention is particularly subject to misinterpretation and intolerance across cultural groups. For example, the kind of exaggerated "boasting" often associated with the language style of the boxer Muhammad Ali was not to be taken literally, but simply as a kind of humorous inventiveness. However, many people found this boasting offensive, since it did not match their expectations that deeds should literally match the words used when talking about physical prowess. In fact, in mainstream White culture, any mismatch between word and deed is expected to be understated rather than overstated, in accordance with the value placed upon the projection of personal humility about physical capabilities. (Kochman (1981) reports many examples of cultural conflict in language use among Black and White Americans related to such expectations.) So, it can be seen that underlying cultural values often enter into the determination of situational appropriateness.

In the preceding discussion, focus was on cases where language use by a cultural group seems more direct than the conventions of mainstream standard English. But there are also many cases in which the conventions of a language group may call for more indirectness than that found in mainstream American English. These cases are just as subject to misinterpretation. For example, in some Asian language communities, the conventions for the use of directives in some situations may call for more indirectness than that required by the mainstream English convention. If a speaker from such a backgound utters a sentence such as "I'm glad that you conducted the test" to an authority in the clinic, it might function as an indirect request to obtain the results. Two possibilities for misinterpretation exist here. In one instance, the mainstream English speaker might view the statement literally as an expressive speech act and feel no obligation to respond to it as an indirect request to obtain the results of the text. Thus, the purpose of the utterance would not be fulfilled in terms of the speaker's intention. In another instance, a speaker of mainstream English might utter a sentence with one intention and unwittingly evoke a different communicative function. Thus, a speaker who utters a sentence such as "Is there much Szechuan food in this area?" to a hostess in a Chinese home, might unwittingly be perceived to be making indirect request to have such food made available, which would represent a considerable infringement upon the obligations of the hostess.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency to become so accustomed to our native language and dialect strategies for carrying out speech acts that we fail to understand and appreciate different conventions. Our initial reaction is to account for different language uses according to our own conventions for directness and indirectness. We, thus, interpret more directness than we are accustomed to as basic rudeness and more indirectness than we are used to as discomforting unassertiveness. It must be remembered, however, that too much directness or indirectness on the part of mainstream English speakers has exactly the same effect on people from other cultures. In fact, language use is an integral part of the stereotypical "ugly American" image that has developed abroad.

In applying the insights from pragmatics across language groups, we must be willing to seek a speaker's underlying purpose in communication and accept the fact that this can be accomplished in many different ways. We further need to recognize some of the important situations and social relationships that determine the particular strategies that are used. As mentioned above, some of these dimensions cannot be appreciated fully without understanding the cultural values and beliefs that lie beneath the use of language.

The Structure of Conversation

One of the essential functions of language is its role in the establishment and maintenance of social interaction. Conversation is the mechanism through which much of this social interaction takes place. As with other aspects of language use, conversation can be highly structured in its organization. Some of this organization is fairly obvious, but other aspects of conversational structure are more subtle. In a multicultural setting, the biggest obstacle to effective communication is the assumption that the conventions for conversational organization from our language background are universal organization from our language background are universal in nature. In reality, the specific ways in which conversation is carried out may vary a great deal.

As with pragmatics, the social context and social relationships of the participants are essential to the conversational format. Thus, classroom instruction in a middle-class White context dictates that the audience remain silent except for "turns" recognized formally by the instructor. More than one White instructor has been frustrated in a classroom when Black or Hispanic students reacted in a more "spontaneous" way to the comments by the instructor due to different conventions for entering into the discussion. With another group, such as that of some native American Indian cultures, the instructor might be frustrated by the hesitancy of students to accept an "opportunity" to respond. The point is that there are various conventions for determining how to respond to talk in different situations, and the mainstream English convention for such response is only one option. It is not universal, and different conventions must be recognized.

Conversations can be thought of in terms of several different parts, including the selection of a "topic" of conversation, starting the conversation, taking turns in talking, and closing the conversation. While these components are universal, the conventions for carrying them out can be quite culture-specific. Before we ever start a conversation, we must decide WHAT we can say to WHOM, and under what circumstances. For example, in mainstream American culture, there are certain you?" in a service encounter) and it becomes necessary to understand both the kinds of available openers and the appropriate responses by the addresses (e.g., "That's okay" for an apology or "Just looking" in a service encounter).

Beginning a conversation also brings up the issue of how a person is addressed. Relations of social status, age, sex, familiarity, and group identity may be important, and the changes of misinterpretation increase different cultures determine the relative importance of these factors according to various weightings. For example, many mainstream Americans treat social status as more important than age in their choice of address forms, so that an older person working as a laborer might be addressed on a first name basis by a younger person. However, such a choice is considered offensive by minority group members who respect age regardless of mainstream social status. In fact, all of the major minority groups considered here would probably find such a behavior insulting, and "lack of respect" in address forms is one of the most frequently cited and obvious examples of cultural and ethnic insensitivity.

Once a conversation is started, keeping it going involves a different set of behaviors on the part of the conversational participants. Some of the signals are non-verbal (e.g., physical distance, gestures, facial expressions), but there are also spoken signals. In mainstream English, Mmms and Uh-huhs serve this function, as do words such as Yeah, Exactly, Right, and so forth. Different groups naturally vary in terms of the kinds of reinforcement offered to speakers by their listeners and the types of signals used to "take a turn" in the conversation. For example, in some American Indian and some Asian groups, there may be less verbal reinforcement, or "backshadowing" by the addressees in a conversation than that found in mainstream English speaking groups, and there are fewer "interruptions" in the conversation. Furthermore, among many American Indian groups, there is a greater tolerance of silence in the pauses between turns in the conversation -- silences that mainstream Americans rush into and fill. On the other hand, backshadowing in some Black and Hispanic well-known taboo topics, such as talking about sex or politics in certain situations, asking direct questions about income or age, and so forth. Before we start a conversation, we must decide WHAT is safe to talk about and with WHOM, and under what circumstances. Thus, in mainstream American culture, an individual does not tell a non-intimate acquaintance that he or she is getting heavy either directly or indirectly (one doesn't say "You're putting on a lot of weight" or even "You look like you've been eating well lately") unless there are very specialized circumstances (e.g., a doctor to a patient, a comment to a person who has been sick). However, the same restriction does not hold for comments about losing weight, since it is considered a desired cultural trait. Other groups do not necessarily share the specific delimitation of what topics are appropriate for certain social situations with that of mainstream American culture. Thus, the conventions for comments on weight gain and loss, as reported for some Asian cultures, might even be the opposite of the mainstream convention. Or, direct questioning such as "What do you do for a living? might be considered appropriate in some mainstream social gatherings but considered inappropriate by some minority groups in a comparable situation (Kochman 1981). The determination of what constitutes a viable topic for conversation under what circumstances is a prerequisite to any conversational exchange.

Once topics for conversation have been established, it is necessary to identify the conventions for starting the exchange. These include greetings and other openers. Many greetings simply consist of ritualized formulas, but the appropriate formulaic exchange may differ from group to group. An utterance such as "What's happening" (as used by some Black speakers), "good afternoon" (as used by some Spanish speakers), or "How you doing?" (as used by some mainstream speakers) all may function in the same way in terms of establishing recognition and each has a prescribed response formula (e.g., "Nothing to me" by a Black speaker). Other openers may involve different conventions of language usage, depending upon the situation (e.g., the "apology" as in "Excuse me but ..." used to open a conversation with a stranger or "Can I help

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groups may occur more frequently and verbally at different points than that found in mainstream American. Mainstream English speakers, accustomed to the conventions of their native language or dialect, may find both kinds of differences disconcerting from their perspective. In the former instance, there is a feeling of uneasiness and discomfort as the mainstream speaker wonders if participants are "following the conversation;" in the latter instance, there is a feeling of frustration because the speaker does not feel in control of the conversation. In these situations, an appreciation for different conventions in carrying on a conversation is helpful in alleviating the discomfort. For anyone working in a multicultural context, such an awareness must be consciously developed.

In conversation, there are cases where the exchange can be reduced to a kind of formula for carrying out a particular speech act. In the preceding discussion, certain types of greetings followed this format. However, these ritualized formats are only one kind of event that follows this pattern. Acts such as complimenting and apologizing follow rules for both statement and response. For example, in mainstream English, there is a limited way of expressing a compliment (Hatch 1981) (e.g. "That's really a nice car;" "I really like your car") and a pattern for responding, which may include acceptance and offer additional information about the item complimented (e.g., "Thank you, I bought it at Gordon's"). In other language groups, such as Spanish and Japanese, the appropriate response to the compliment is to deny the positive evaluation (e.g., "It's not really very nice;" "Oh no, it's nothing"). To a mainstream speaker operating on the basis of the English convention, this kind of response may result in a reinforcement of the compliment (e.g., "No, I really do like it a lot"), when, in fact, the person simply meant to acknowledge the compliment in an appropriate way according to a different set of language conventions. Situations such as these can lead to considerable difficulty in fulfilling the actual purpose of communication.

Finally, there are conventions for conversational closings. Speakers do not simply turn away from each other abruptly and without

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explanation when terminating a cooperative conversation. First of all, a participant "passes" a potential turn in the conversation by saying something like "OK," "Well" or "So." This signals a desire to end the conversation, which may be accepted or rejected by the other participant(s). Then there are several options in mainstream English for taking leave, including a compliment (e.g., "It was nice to talk to you"), or a "reasonable" excuse to terminate the conversation (e.g., "I'll let you get back to your work not;" "I have to pick up may car at five"). We cannot say things such as "This conversation is boring, so I'm leaving" or "I'd rather be talking to Lorraine than you," even if such a feeling represents the real reason for closing a conversation. The failure to recognize conventional cues for closing a conversation can lead to some awkward situations, as speakers from different groups may not know when it is safe to leave or how to allow others to exit a conversation gracefully. All languages and dialects allow for graceful closing routines, but the conventions for carrying these vary across different groups. Knowing how to close off a conversation is just as important as knowing how to start one.

It can be seen that there are a number of different rules or conventions that govern our conversational format. Furthermore, there are a number of factors that have to be considered, ranging from broad-based cultural values to intricate details concerning when and how one takes a turn in the conversation. Given the number and significance of the factors that enter into the selection of a strategy for carrying out a conversation, the likelihood of misinterpretation is somewhat staggering. In a cross-cultural context, these considerations emphasize our continual need to look beyond the structures that people are using and attempt to ferret out their underlying purpose in communicating.

Some Sensitive Areas of Language Use

Although language use across different languages and dialects has not been studied nearly as extensively as comparable studies of language structures, available studies suggest that some aspects of language use are more sensitive to cross-linguistic differences than others. Some of these areas are particularly prone to misinterpretation across language groups. Following is a selective catalogue of some of these culturally sensitive uses. It is presented with the understanding that many more language uses will have to be added for a more complete inventory. Aspects of both pragmatics and conversational usage are included.

Greetings: Although greetings in most languages and dialects are highly ritualized, and often not to be taken literally, their cultural significance cannot be minimized. Typically, they involve learning prescribed, specific routines. In most instances, these routines simply involve rote memorization of a limited set of exchanges and the appropriate circumstances for their use. However, there may be quite distinct routines for various settings, so that telephone greetings are quite different from service encounter greetings which are, in turn, different from the greetings expected to be offered by a speaker in a public forum lecture.

Address Forms: Personal address is one of the most obtrusive areas of language use conventions. Many languages and dialects have politeness conventions more formal than those found in mainstream English, ranging from the extensive system of "honorifics" in Japanese to the romance language differentiation of "polite" and "familiar" second person forms. Knowledge of appropriate usage may involve a variety of social relationships, most typically including the status of the speaker, status of the addressee, level of personal familiarity, age, and sex. Inappropriate usage is readily misinterpreted as non-respectful behavior on the part of the speaker, so that particular attention must be given to the kinds of social relationships that determine appropriateness in a multicultural setting.

Taking Turns in Conversation: Knowing when it is acceptable to take a turn in a conversation is essential to the cooperative development of the conversation. Critical factors involve knowing how to recognize a turn in the conversation and appropriate transitions between turns, including the appropriate use of pauses between turns. It is also important to know how to interrupt. Since not all conversations follow an ideal format for turntaking, it becomes necessary to know how to "repair" a conversation that has been thrown off course by an undesired interruption or misdirected comment.

Backshadowing: Backshadowing refers to the mechanism that conversational participants use to indicate that they are following the remarks of the speaker. Both non-verbal and verbal cues may be used to indicate backshadowing, but the kind and extent of verbal and non-verbal signals may differ significantly among different language groups. Cues indicating notions such as "I'm following," "I'm confused," "I'm distracted" and so forth must carefully be distinguished in the verbal and non-verbal backshadowing codes.

Topics of Conversation: As mentioned previously, not every topic is open for discussion in a conversation. Situational context and social relationships may define what topics are "safe" for discussion, but in many cases, the determination of appropriate topics for conversation lies in the recognition of underlying cultural values and beliefs. Since it is sometimes difficult to recognize legitimate topics for discussion given the array of factors that have to be considered, it is also necessary to recognize cues that an inappropriate topic has been chosen for discussion.

Speech Acts: Strategies for carrying out different kinds of speech acts are quite sensitive to linguistic and cultural differences. In most instances, the differences relate to conventions for using direct and indirect strategies for performing these acts. In many cases, there are also formulaic routines for carrying out the speech act. For example, a bet may be offered by saying "I bet you five dollars the Lakers will win the basketball game," but the act of betting is not consummated unless the person addressed responds by saying something like "That's a bet." Among the more common speech acts subject to variation across language groups are the following:

Requesting: All language groups have a variety of ways to ask someone to do something, and the relevant factors are WHO is making the request of WHOM and WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES. Sorting out the appropriate level of directness given the range of conditions and options in strategies may require considerable skill in language use within a native language, let alone across language groups. An appreciation for the different strategies and an awareness of the important factors that go into the selection of an appropriate strategy for a given circumstance need to be developed in a cross-cultural context.

Promising: In addition to the variety of strategies for making a promise, there are also a number of cases in which the formal structure of a promise is not to be taken literally. For example, promises of arrival time may be quite different for White, Hispanic, and some Black groups. Sorting out literal and non-literal intention can be quite difficult given different language conventions. Furthermore, considerable inconvenience and embarrassment can result if speakers' underlying intentions are not understood within the language-specific context.

Complimenting: In many cases, complimenting is carried out through formulaic routines. This involves strategies for offering a compliment and its acceptance. Since the form of a compliment can also be used to carry out other speech acts indirectly (e.g. complimenting used to carry out a directive, as in "That cake you baked looks delicious" to request a piece of the cake), the underlying purpose of a formal compliment must be considered.

Apologizing: The act of apologizing also tends to involve prescribed routines. These typically involve dimensions such as an expression of apology (e.g. "I'm sorry"), an explanation of the situation which led to the need for apology (e.g. "My daughter was sick," "I just wasn't thinking") by the person offering the apology and a formula for accepting it by the addressee (e.g. "Don't worry about it"). Appropriate strategies for offering and accepting an apology must be clearly understood, as well as the conditions which determine its sincerity. The kind of behavior requiring an apology is also quite sensitive to differences across cultures.

Refusing: The act of refusal is often carried out through indirect language (e.g. "I'd like to go with you, but I have a lot of homework") since direct refusal may be considered uncooperative social behavior

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(e.g. "I refuse to go with you"). The definition of a "legitimate" excuse for refusal, however, may vary considerably from language group to language group, and awkward situations can arise when these are not understood. In a multicultural setting, it is necessary to recognize appropriate, indirect strategies for refusal which fall within the politeness conventions of different groups.

Conclusion

There are obviously many other kinds of language use that could be added to this illustrative inventory, but this restricted list should serve to emphasize the complexities of "saying what you mean" across language groups. Applying these notions to the practical encounters we have with speakers from different language groups presents one of the greatest challenges we face in understanding language as a form of human behavior. It is, however, a challenge to be confronted squarely in an honest effort to deliver services effectively to speakers from minority language groups.

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A Linguistic Description of Social Dialects

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A Linguistic Description of Social Dialects

In this section, we shall present an abbreviated inventory of some of the descriptive characteristics of several different nonstandard dialects of American English. We have opted to present these in terms of an inventory of features rather than a lengthy discursive account. This means that many of the finer details have been omitted here. More elaborate accounts of these features can be found in Labov (1972), Wolfram and Fasold (1974) and Wolfram and Christian (1976).

The following description of various nonstandard American dialects clearly demonstrates their systematic nature. Like all languages, these dialects are governed by regular pronunciation and grammatical rules. In short, what is distinctive about nonstandard dialects is that they are held in low esteem by the speakers of standard dialects and usually by their speakers as well. Nonstandard dialects are not any less a language or any less capable of performing all of the tasks of a language than a standard dialect. It is important to note that many of these features occur variably. That is, a particular dialect may be characterized by the frequency with which certain variants occur rather than their categorical occurrence.

Within the broad category of nonstandard dialects, there are variations which are regional and ethnic. The following code is used here to designate some major varieties of nonstandard dialects and to indicate in which of these dialects certain features are most often found:

NS	Used in all nonstandard varieties of American English, including Northern White, Southern White, Appalachian English and Black English.
SWNS	Southern White Nonstandard
S	Southern White Standard (possibly considered nonstandard in some Northern contexts).
BE	Black English
AE	Appalachian English

Pronunciation

Consonant Cluster Reduction

(BE/some SWNS)

1. Word-final consonant clusters ending in a stop can be reduced when both members belong to a base word: *tes'* (test), *des'* (desk), *han'* (hand), and *buil'* (build).

   Reduction also occurs when grammatical suffix *-ed* is added to produce such words as *rubbed*, *rained*, *messed*, *looked*. Reduced: *rub'*, *rain'*, *mess'*, and *look'*.

   When both members of a cluster are either voiced or voiceless, then the rule operates (as above), but when one member is voiced and the other voiceless (e.g. *jump*, *rent*, *belt*, *gulp*, etc.), the rule does not operate.

   In Standard English (SE), final member of a cluster may be absent if following word begins with a consonant (*bes' kind*, *tol' Jim*, *col' cuts*, and *fas' back* are acceptable in SE).

(BE/some SWNS)

   Reduction takes place when consonant cluster is followed by a vowel or a pause as well as a consonant: *wes' en'* (west end), *bes' apple* (best apple). The type of clusters affected by this rule are given in Table 1.

(BE/some SWNS)

2. *Plural Formations*: words ending in *-sp*, *-st*, and *-sk*, add the *-es* instead of *-s* plural. Plural formations follow consonant reduction rule in which words such as *desk*, *test*, *ghost*, and *wasp* become *desses*, *tesses*, *ghosses*, and *wasses*.

(AE/some BE)

   Words ending in *-sp*, *-st*, and *-sk* add the *-es* plural while retaining the cluster intact, giving *deskes*, *testes*, *ghostes*, and *waspes*.

(BE)

3. *Underlying Structure of Consonant Cluster*: clusters present in *testing*, *scolding*, *tester*, *coldest*. When

Table 1. Consonant Clusters in which the Final Member of the Cluster May be Absent

Phonetic Cluster	Examples*	
	Type I	Type II
[st]	test, post, list	missed, messed, dressed
[sp]	wasp, clasp, grasp	
[sk]	desk, risk, mask	
[ʃt]		finished, latched, cashed
[zd]		raised, composed, amazed
[ʒd]		judged, charged, forged
[ft]	left, craft, cleft	laughed, stuffed, roughed
[vd]		loved, lived, moved
[nd]	mind, find, mound	rained, fanned, canned
[md]		named, foamed, rammed
[ld]	cold, wild, old	called, smelled, killed
[pt]	apt, adept, inept	mapped, stopped, clapped
[kt]	act, contact, expect	looked, cooked, cracked

*Where there are no examples under Type I and Type II the cluster does not occur under that category.

suffix begins with vowel the cluster is present. Some dialects having tessing, scolling, etc., may not have underlying cluster.

The TH Sounds

(NS)	1. Word initial: d/th as in dey for they, t/th as in taught for thought (special kind of t-unaspirated, lenis).
(BE)	2. Within a word: f/th as in nofin for nothing, aufuh for author.
(some BE dialects)	v/th as in bruvah for brother, ravah for rather, bavin for bathing.
(NS)	th contiguous to a nasal is produced as a t, as in arithmetic ('ritmetic), monthly (montly), nothing (not'n).
(NS)	d/th as in oder for other, bruder for brother.
(SWNS/AE/BE)	3. Voiced fricatives before nasals: th, z, v, become stops before a nasal as in idn't for isn't, sebm for seven.
(some BE/SWNS)	4. Word final: f/th predominant production as in Ruf (Ruth), toof (tooth) and souf (south).
(BE)	t/th occasionally (mostly in Southern BE) as in sout' for south.

The R and L

(S)	1. After a vowel: The l becomes uh, as in steal (steauh), sister (sistuh).
(S)	2. Preceding a consonant: the r and l are absent, as in help (hep), guard (gua'd). Typically, l is completely absent before labial consonants.
(SWNS/BE)	In some areas of the South r absent following o and u with a change in the vowel as well, four (foe), door (doe).
(SWNS/BE)	3. Between vowels: The r or l may be absent between vowels (Ca'ol, sto'y, or Ma'y, for Carol, story or Mary).

(BE)

4. *Effect on vocabulary and grammar*: Consistent loss of *r* at end of word has caused merging of two words. The change caused by the absence of *r* in *they* and *their* or in *you* and *your* brings them phonetically closer together, producing *It is they book* or *It is you book*.

(BE/SWNS)

Loss of *l* may affect contrasted forms, such as in future modal *will*. *Tomorrow I bring the thing* for *Tomorrow I'll bring the thing*. This pronunciation may account for the use of *be* to indicate future time. *He be here in a few minutes*. This typically takes place when the following word begins with *b*, *m*, or *w* (labial sounds).

(SWNS/BE)

5. *r following a consonant*: The *r* may be absent when it follows a consonant in unstressed syllables, giving *p'otect* for *protect* or *p'ofessor* or when following vowel is either an *o* or *u*, giving *th'ow* for *throw* and *th'ough* for *through*.

6. *Social stigma*: Absence of *r* and *l* not as socially stigmatized as other nonstandard pronunciation rules because certain types of *r* and *l* absences are standard for some standard Southern and Northern dialects.

Final b, d, and g

(BE/some AE)

1. *Devoicing*: At end of syllable voiced stops *b*, *d*, and *g* are pronounced as the corresponding voiceless stops *p*, *t*, and *k*. This does not mean that *pig* and *pick*, *bud* and *butt*, and *cab* and *cap* sound alike in BE, for they are still distinguished by length of vowel. English vowels are held slightly longer when following sound is voiced. For example, the *u* in *bud* is held longer than the *u* in *butt*, although the *d* in *bud* is pronounced as a *t*.

In unstressed syllables rule can operate for all nonstandard dialects, as in *stupit* for *stupid* or *salat* for *salad*.

(BE) 2. Deletion of d: In some varieties of BE d is absent more frequently when followed by a consonant, such as ba' man, goo' soldier, etc. The addition of an -s (realized phonetically as z) suffix produces kiz for kids and boahz for boards.

(NS) 3. Glottal for t, d before syllabic l or n. This results in pronunciations of couldn't something like coutn and bottle with a glottal for the tt.

Nasalization

(NS) 1. The -ing suffix: The use of -in' for -ing, such as in singin', buyin', and runnin' is a feature characteristic of American English. It occurs when the -ing is in an unstressed syllable.

(BE) 2. Nasalized vowels: A nasalized vowel instead of nasal consonant is most often found at end of syllable, for example, final consonant is dropped in man, bun, and run. The final vowel is then nasalized giving ma', bu', and ru'. This usually found in unstressed syllables, e.g. mailman.

(S) 3. The influence of nasals on i and e: Before a nasal consonant i and e do not contrast, making words such as pin and pen or tin and ten sound identical.

(NS) 4. Articles: The difference between a and an is neutralized so that a occurs before words beginning with vowels as well as consonants, e.g. a apple, a orange, a pear.

Unstressed Initial Syllables

In casual spoken SE, initial unstressed syllables of prepositions and adverbs may be deleted, giving 'bout for about or 'cause for because. Tends to be more frequent when preceding word ends in a vowel as opposed to a consonant, so that items like go 'bout are more frequent than went 'bout.

(BE/AE/some SWNS)

Unstressed syllable deletion may be extended to a wider class of words, including nouns and verbs, so that we get 'member for remember, 'posed to for supposed to, 'matoes for tomatoes, and so forth.

Unstressed Initial w

(AE/SWNS/BE)

Unstressed verbs or auxiliaries beginning with w may delete the w, producing items such as He'uz going for He was going. Often involves the deletion of the following vowel as well, giving He'z going for He was going.

The pronoun one may also be affected by this process, giving this 'un or good 'un for this one and good one. This may also involve the deletion of the following vowel, replacing it with a syllabic nasal (e.g. good 'n or this 'n). Most typical with item young ones, which may be young 'uns or young 'ns.

Intrinsic h

(AE)

The pronoun it may have an initial h, giving hit for it. This process, which is a retention of an earlier English form, is more frequent when the pronoun is stressed than when unstressed.

The auxiliary ain't may also retain this h, producing hain't. This is more typical of older persons than the current generation of speakers.

Vowel Glides

(S)

The vowel glides as in ay (e.g. side and time) and oy (e.g. boy and toy) are generally pronounced as sahd, tahm and bouh and touh.

(S)

Absence of glide is more frequent when followed by a voiced sound or a pause, more likely to be absent in side, time, and toy than in kite, bright, or fight.

Final Unstressed ow

(AE) In word-final position, the *ow* of SE may be produced as *er*, giving *holler* for *hollow*, *swaller* for *swallow*, or *winder* for *window*. It may also occur when the plural *-s* is added, giving *potatoes* for 'taters or *winders* for *windows*.

ire Sequences

(AE) In many varieties of SE, *ire* sequences are pronounced as two syllables, so that *fire* or *tire* is pronounced something like *fayer* or *tayer*. This may be reduced to one syllable which includes the reduction of a glide. Items like *tire* and *fire* may therefore be pronounced much like *tar* and *far*.

Other

(BE/SWNS) *Str-* words (*string*, *street*) may become *skr-* words (*skring*, *skreet*).

(BE) *ask* may be pronounced *aks*, retaining an earlier English pronunciation.

Grammar

Past Forms

(BE) 1. *Regular*: The *-ed* suffixes which mark past tense, past participial forms and derived adjectives are not pronounced because of consonant reduction rule, where *finished*, *cashed*, *forged*, *cracked* and *named* are pronounced in SE as *finisht*, *casht*, *forgd*, *crackt* and *namd* and in BE as *finish*, *cash*, *forge*, *crack*, and *name*.

Irregular Verbs

2. *Irregular Verbs*:

(NS) a. Regularized forms: Some verbs with irregular past forms can instead have the regular past tense suffix, *-ed*, added, such as *knowed* for *knew*, *heared* for *heard*, *drinked* for *drank*.

b. Uninflected forms: Some verbs can have the past tense forms represented by the same form found for the present, giving *come* for *came*, *run* for *ran*, *begin* for *begun*.

c. Different irregular forms: A small set of verbs have irregular past forms that are different from the SE ones, such as *brung* for *brought*, *hearn* for *heard* in AE.

d. Past participle for simple past: For some verbs which have two different past forms in SE, the past participle form can be used for the simple past, such as *seen* for *saw*, *done* for *did*, *drunk* for *drank*.

Perfective Constructions

1. *General*: The perfective constructions in NS and SE:

	NS		SE
Present Perfect	I have walked. I('ve) walked.		I have walked. I've walked.
Past Perfect	I had walked.		I had walked. I'd walked.
Completive	I done walked.	(SWNS/BE)	
Remote Time	I been walked.	(BE)	

2. *Omission of forms of have*: in SE present tense forms of auxiliary *have* can be contracted to *'ve* and *'s*:

SE	NS
I've been here for hours.	I been here for hours.
He's gone home.	He gone home.

(BE/SWNS/AE) 3. Completive aspects with done: done plus a past form I done tried. This form denotes an action started and completed at a specific time in the past.

(BE) 4. Remote time construction with been: been construction indicates speaker thinks of action having taken place in the distant past. Unlike done, the been construction is used solely in BE.

I been had it there for about three years. You won't get your dues that you been paid.

Third Person Singular Present Tense Marker

1. General The suffix -s (or -es) is used to mark the third person singular in the present tense:

Singular	Plural
I walk	we walk
you walk	you walk
he walks, the man walks	they walk, the men walk

(BE) The -s suffix is absent; it is not part of the grammar; he walk, the man walk, they walk, the men walk.

(NS) 2. The verb do used as an auxiliary in negative constructions. He doesn't go becomes He don't go.

(BE) 3. Have and do: Third person forms (has and does) are absent, giving He have a bike and He always do silly things.

(BE) 4. Hypercorrect forms: The absence of -s suffix in BE may cause hypercorrection when BE speakers come into contact with SE. BE speakers observe presence of -s suffix in some present tense verbs. Unfamiliar with the restriction of -s suffix to third person singular forms, the speaker uses the feature as a foreign language learner might by marking first, second, third person forms both singular and plural and the *-s* suffix.

This accounts for sentences such as *I walks*, *You walks*, and *The children walks*. The *-s* suffix then is an importation of a dialectal feature and overgeneralized to the grammar of the dialect from which it was borrowed.

Future

(SWNS/BE) 1. *Gonna*: *gonna*, as in other dialects, is a future indicator. *Is* and *are* are frequently deleted when *gonna* is used. *He gonna go*. *You gonna get into trouble*.

(BE) SE produces a reduction of *gonna*: *ngna* as in *I'nga go* . In BE and some SWNS reductions not observed in SE are found: *mana* as in *I'mana go*, *mon* as in *I'mon go*, and *ma* as in *I'ma go*.

(NS) 2. *Will*: *will* is used to indicate future time in SE and NS. *Will* can be contracted to *'ll*. This contracted form may be eliminated, especially if the following word begins with a labial consonant (particularly BE). *He miss you tomorrow* for *He'll miss you tomorrow*. Sometimes it appears that the future is indicated by main verb alone.

Invariant be

1. *General*: The verb *to be* appears in SE in one of the three variant forms *is*, *are*, or *am*. In BE the form *be* can be used as a main verb (*I be here in the evening* and *Sometime he be busy*).

The use of invariant *be* in BE has two explanations.

(NS)

2. Will be or would be: be begins with a labial consonant making it likely that 'll before be will be absent. Application of this rule is fairly common in BE and occurs sometimes in SE, giving sentences like He be here pretty soon and They be gone by evening.

   The contracted form of would is 'd which can merge with the b of be or be removed by the final elimination rule. A setence such as If you gave him a present, he be happy is possible both in SE and BE.

(BE)

3. Distributive or non-tense be: The other source of invariant be is possible in BE without tense specification and seems to describe "an object or an event distributed intermittently in time". To say "I'm good" is to assert a permanent quality, while I be good means that the speaker is good sometimes. This form of invariant be is quite socially stigmatized.

A-verb-ing

(AE/some SWNS)

An a- can be prefixed to a following verb which has an -ing participial form. These verb forms may function as progressives as in I knew he was a-tellin' the truth or as certain types of adverbials, as in I went down there a-huntin' for them, He just kept a-beggi. He woke up a-screamin'.

These forms do not occur when the form functions as a noun or adjective, as in The movie was shockin' or Laughin' is good for you. The a- prefix is also restricted from occurring with a word beginning with an unstressed syllable or one that begins with a vowel, so that we do not get it on items like discoverin' or askin'.

Absence of Forms to be

1. General: When contracted forms of the copula is and are forms are expected

in SE, some nonstandard dialects may delete. When the subject is I, the SE form am or its contraction 'm is almost always used.

(BE)

2. Is: is may be absent before gonna in some Southern dialects, but in BE is may be absent whenever it can be contracted in SE, as in He a man, He bad, and He running to school. Is and are are present in grammar of speakers of BE as evidenced in exposed clause (I know he is) and in tag question (He is not home, is he?).

(SWNS/BE)

3. Are: In all nonstandard dialects of English in which copula absence is found, are is used less often than is. English contraction rule removes all but final consonant of certain auxiliaries (are to 're, will to 'll, and have to 've). Are has no final consonant, i.e. it is pronounced ah. Regular pronunciation rules reduce ah to uh. Contraction rule eliminates are, and there is no need to use BE rules. Thus, there are speakers who have are absence but not is absence. (i.e. You good for you're good or They're good).

Copula Verb Concord

(NS)

They was there. You was there. Some speakers do not show person number agreement with be. This pertains to both past (You was there) and present forms of to be. It's use with past tense forms (e.g. You was there) is much more frequent than with non-past forms (They is here).

Double Modals

(SWNS/BE/some AE)

Certain modals may co-occur within the same verb phrase, giving forms such as might could, might should, used couldn't, and so forth.

There is also a different subset of items which accompany a past form of the verb, such as liketa or supposeta as in It liketa scared me to death or It was supposeta been here. Liketa indicates that the activity in the sentence came close to happening but didn't. *Supposeta* (or *'posta*) is closely related to its SE counterpart, *(be) supposed to have*.

Adverbs

Comparatives and Superlatives
(NS)

The *-er* and *-est* suffixes may be extended to words of two or more syllables that end in a consonant where the standard pattern uses the adverbs *more* and *most* (*awfulest*, *beautifulest*). In some cases, the comparative adverb and the suffix are both used, as in *more older*, *most stupidest*. There is also a regularization of some of the irregular comparatives, where the suffix is added to the base word or to the irregular form, as in *baddest*, *worser*, *mostest*.

Intensifying Adverbs
(SWNS/AE/BE)

The intensifier *right* can be used in a wider set of contexts than it can in its standard distribution. These include before adjectives (*right large*, *right amusing*), with an expanded group of adverbs (*right loud*, *right quick*) and in construction with *smart* (*a right smart while*). Another intensifier, *plumb*, occurs with adverbs, verbs and some adjectives, and refers to completeness (*burn plumb down*, *scare you plumb to death*, *plumb foolish*).

-ly Absence (NS)
(NS)

For some of the adverbs which require the *-ly* suffix according to the standard pattern, the suffix may be optional, giving *original* for *originally*, *terrible* for *terribly*, *sincere* for *sincerely*. It is usually more extensive in nonstandard dialects of Southern origin, particularly AE.

Negation

(NS)

1. *The use of ain't for have/has and am/are/is*: A series of phonetic changes in the history of English produced *ain't* for the negative

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forms of is, are, am, and auxiliary have and has, e.g. I ain't gonna do it or He ain't done it.

(BE) 2. In some varieties of BE ain't corresponds to SE didn't as in He ain't go home.

Multiple Negation

(NS) 1. Negative concord: He didn't do anything. Negative is attached to main verb and all indefinites following the main verb (e.g. He didn't do nothing)

(SWNS/BE) 2. Preposed negative auxiliary: Couldn't nobody do it. A sentence with indefinite noun phrase having a negative marker before the main verb may have a negativized form of the verbal auxiliary placed at the beginning of the sentence, such as can't, wasn't and didn't.

(BE) 3. Negative auxiliary: Nobody didn't do it. The negative marker is placed in the noun phrase with the indefinite element, providing the NP comes before the main verb. In BE, both this rule and one which attaches a negative marker to the main verb are used.

(NS) 4. With negative adverbs: He never hardly does it. The adverb is used to express negation in addition to negative placement on another adverb, an auxiliary or a negativized indefinite (e.g. He never hardly does it, He don't hardly do it, and Hardly nobody is good).

(BE/some SWNS) 5. Negative concord across clause boundari Occasionally, negative concord takes place across clauses. This results in sentences like There wasn't much I couldn't do with the meaning "There wasn't much I could do" or Ain't no cat can't get in no coop meaning that "no cat can get into any coop".

Possessive

(BE) 1. With common nouns: Where 's possessive is found in SE, BE indicates possessive by the order of words. *The boy's hat* becomes *The boy hat*. BE speakers in Northern urban areas alternate between *'s* and its absence.

2. *With personal names*: *'s* is used with first name in compound noun forms as in *John's Dawson car*. This is an example of hypercorrection, resulting from some familiarity with the need to add possessive *-s* without knowledge of the SE rules for its placement in compound nouns.

(AE)

3. When a possessive pronoun does not modify a following noun phrase, *-n* may be added to it, resulting in forms like *your'n*, *his'n*, and *our'n*. This form tends to be more characteristic of older speakers.

Plural

(BE)

1. *Absence of the plural suffix*: Plural suffixes of SE (*-s* or *-es*) are occasionally absent in BE. This results in *He took five book* and *The other teacher, they'll yell at you*. Most speakers of BE have the predominant use of plural markers in their grammar.

(SWNS/AE)

For nouns that refer to weights and measures, the plural suffix may be absent. Most typically, this occurs when the noun is preceded by a numeral as in *two pound*, *three foot*, *twenty year ago*.

(SWNS/BE)

2. *Regular plurals and irregular nouns*: Some nouns in SE form plurals by vowel change, *one foot*, *two feet*, or with no suffix at all (*one deer*, *two deer*). For some speakers, these nouns take the regular *-s* suffix (*two foots*, *two deers*).

Pronominal Apposition

(NS)

Pronominal apposition is the constructic in which a pronoun is used in appositior to the noun subject of the sentence, as in *My brother, he bigger than you* or *That teacher, she yell at the kids all the time*.

Relative Clauses

(BE/SWNS/AE) 1. *Relative pronoun deletion*: In most SE dialects a relative pronoun is obligatory if the relative pronoun represents the subject of the subordinate clause. In some NS dialects, this relative can be deleted, giving sentences like *That's the dog bit me* or *There's a man comes down the road* for "That's the dog *that* bit me" and "There's a man *who* comes down the road" respectivel

(NS) 2. *Associative use of which*: In SE, *which* is generally used to replace non-animate nouns. In some NS dialects (and also some SE ones) *which* can be used without this antecedent, appearing to be used as a type of associative or conjunction. This is found in sentences like *He gave me this cigar which he knows I don't smoke cigars* or *His daughter is marrying Robert Jenks which he doesn't approve of her marrying a divorced man*

(NS) 3. *Other relative pronoun forms*: There are speakers of nonstandard English who use forms other than *who*, *whom*, *which* and *that* as relative pronouns. These speakers seem largely to be of White rural varieties of English. Examples appear in *A car what runs is good to have* and *There's those as can do it*.

Questions

In SE direct questions, the auxiliary is moved to the beginning of the sentence. Thus, *He was walking to the store* becomes *Was he walking to the store* or *He was going somewhere* is *Where was he going*? In an indirect sentence such as *I wonder if he was walking* or *I wonder where he was going*, the forward movement does not occur, and the conjunction *if* or *whether* may be introduced in yes-no questions.

(SWNS/AE/BE)

The same pattern used in the direct question may apply to the indirect question in some dialects, giving I wonder was he walking or I wonder where was he going. The conjunction if introducing indirect yes-no question is eliminated in this process since the question form can be derived from the question word order.

Existential it

(SWNS/BE)

It is used in place of the standard English there, which serves as existential or expletive function as in It's a store on the corner or Is it a show in town?

(AE/some SWNS)

They may also be used as a correspondenc for SE there, in sentences such as If they's a lotta wooly worms, it'll be a bad winter or They's cooperheads around here.

Demonstratives

(NS)

1. Them for those: Sentences like I want some of them candies use the demonstrative them where SE would have those.

2. Use of here and there as demonstratives: here and there may be added to the demonstratives these and them to produce sentences like I like these here pants better than them there ones.

Pronouns

(BE)

1. Nominative/objective neutralization: occasionally, the forms used in SE as objectives may be used as subjects, as in Him ain't playing. Mostly found to be strictly age-graded so that typically found only among preadolescents.

(NS)

2. Coordinate nominative/objective neutralization: In coordinate subject noun phrases, objective forms are much more common in all nonstandard varieties, giving Me and her will do it or Him and me work together.

(BE) 3. Non-possessive case for possessives: Occasionally nominative or objective case of personal pronouns may be used, giving James got him book or She want she mother.

(NS) 4. Absolute possessive forms: In SE the absolute possessive form of personal pronouns patterns according to the following paradigm:

Singular	Plural
mine	ours
yours	yours
his, hers, its	theirs

Except for mine, all the forms end in s. Some NS dialects regularize the pattern by adding -s to mine as well, giving mines.

(NS) 5. Reflexives: The form -self may be added to all personal pronouns. The possessive form used in reflexives for first and second persons (myself, yourself) can be extended to the third person, resulting in hisself and theirself.

(S) 6. Personal Dative: It is possible to use a non-reflexive pronoun when a direct object is also present, as in I cut me a limb off a tree or I shot me a pheasant. It is typically restricted to subjects in its reference.

7. Plural forms of you: In SE you is used for both the singular and plural second person pronoun. In many varieties of Southern origin, the plural form is differentiated as y'all. Other varieties may differentiate plural by different forms, such as youse as in Youse mad at each other or you'uns as found in some rural dialects.

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DIALECT SWITCHING ON STIGMATIZED BLACK ENGLISH GRAMMATICAL FORMS: IMPLICATIONS

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SUMMARY

One argument against teaching Standard English to speakers of Black English is that to offer the option of a dialect other than the community dialect is an affront to the speaker's community and to the speaker, and that it may be damaging to the speaker's self-esteem. The position advanced in this paper is that such psychological damage is minimized or non-existent when speakers habitually use both the Black English variant and the Standard English variant of particular grammatical forms.

The purpose of this investigation was to measure the extent to which 20 male and 20 female Black fifth grade pupils fluctuate between Black English and Standard English variants on the following grammatical forms which are highly stigmatized when the Black English variant is used:

1. Third person singular verb-subject agreement - present tense
   Standard English - He runs fast.
   Black English - He run fast.
2. Possession

   Standard English - This is Joe's book.
   Black English - This is Joe book.
3. Distributibe "be"
   Standard English - He is here at five o'clock every day.
   Black English - He be here at five o'clock every day.
4. Copula "are"
   Standard English - They're ready.
   Black English - They ready.
5. Copula "is
   Standard English - He's a good player.
   Black English - He a good player.

Implifications for teaching Standard English have been presented in light of the findings of this investigation.

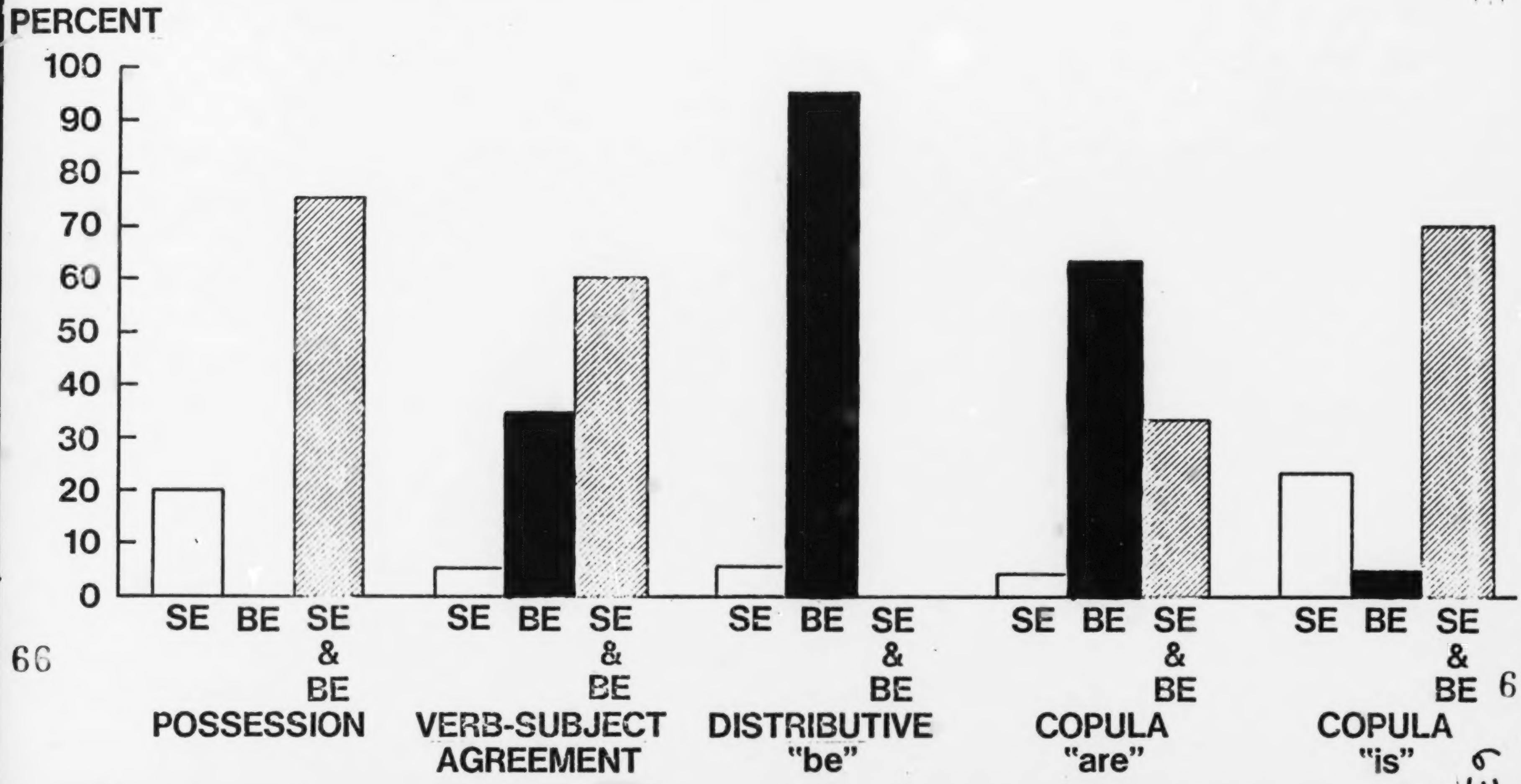
RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS

1. Individual speakers were found to use both the Standard English variant and the Black English variant for all grammatical forms except distributive "be."
    a. For the four grammatical forms on which dialect switching occurred, fluctuating variants were found to be common within and between subjects.
    b. The findings indicate that for many speakers who use a Black English dialectal variant for certain grammatical forms the Standard English dialectal variant must also be considered an integral part of their community language. It is misleading to disregard the occurrences of Standard English.

2. For the four grammatical forms on which the subjects commonly fluctuated between Black English and Standard English the ratio of Black English to Standard English usage was different.
    a. While there was a considerable amount of variability regarding the dialect variant which was dominant in the speech of individuals, it is clear that for this group of subjects, when dialect switching occurred the the Black English variant occurred more often for verb-subject agreement third person singular and copula "are" while the Standard English variant was used more often for possession and copula "is."
    b. There is probably little or no psychological damage resulting from teaching Standard English to speakers who control both dialect variants. However, it seems safe to assume that there is no risk in teaching greater control of the Standard English variant to speakers who already use that variant most of the time.

3. The idea that teaching Standard English to speakers who use Black English is psychologically harmful and denegrating should be re-examined for those who normally use both Black English and Standard English variants for particular linguistic forms.

SUMMARY OF PERCENT OF SE AND BE USAGE OF 5 STIGMATIZED GRAMMATICAL FORMS



POTENTIAL INTERFERENCE FROM SPANISH ON THE PRODUCTION OF ENGLISH

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The inventory that follows is an attempt to identify the more frequent points of interference that arise when a Spanish speaker begins to master English. This is not meant to be an exhaustive treatment of the differences between the two languages; if it is a contrastive description between the two languages that is desired, the reader is referred to Stockwell and Bowen's _The Sounds of English and Spanish_ and to Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin's _The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish_.

The items included in the phonology section are derived primarily from field work in this area done by Gonzalez (1973). The grammatical items are basically derived from field work by Gonzalez with migrant children in South Texas. The deviations described, however, are not peculiar to this population; Politzer and Ramirez (1973) report similar findings with a different Chicano population in California.

A word of caution is in order here. What we have tried to isolate here are the _potential_ points of interference. The Spanish-speaking populations of this country vary greatly in their mastery of English, from zero comprehension to complete fluency. The sociolinguistic dimension of learning English as a second language in the different Spanish-speaking communities, an important consideration in any language study, remains virgin territory. Given this lack of research, the reader is urged to use the present list as a guide and nothing more.

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Potential Negative Interference from a First Language: Spanish

THE SOUND SYSTEM

	Substitution	Environment	Examples
1.	"ch" for "sh"	all places	"chip" for "ship", "catch" for "cash" "ditch" for "dish" "latch" for "lash" "batch" for "bash"
2.	"s" for "z"	all places	"rice" for "rise" "price" for "prize" "race" for "raise" "sue" for "zoo" "sink" for "zinc"
3.	"t" for "th"	all places	"tin" for "thin" "tick" for "thick" "pat" for "path" "mat" for "math"
4.	"b" for "v"	after a nasal consonant	"embironment" for "environment" "combey" for "convey" "Dember" for "Denver" "imbite" for "invite"
5.	"b" for "v"	at beginning of sentence	"ban" for "van" "boat" for "vote"
6.	[β] for "b"	between vowels; at end of words	cabinet, robin, Robert, tribe, globe, lab
7.	"v" for "b"		cabinet, robin, Robert, tribe, globe, lab
8.	"n" for [ŋ]	at end of sentence	"thin" for "thing" "sin" for "sing"
9.	[ŋ] for "n"	at end of sentence	"ting" for "tin" "tang" for "tan" "bang" for "ban"

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APPENDIX II, continued
POTENTIAL NEGATIVE-INTERFERENCE FROM A FIRST LANGUAGE: - SPANISH

THE SOUND SYSTEM

	Substitution	Environment	Examples
10:	"n" for "m"	before "t"	"synton" for "sympton" "enty" for "empty" "sontin" for "something"
11.	/i/ for /I/	everywhere	"leave" for "live" "neat" for "knit" "seek" for "sick" "seep" for "sip"
12.	/e/ for /æ/	everywhere	"bet" for "bat" "kettle" for "cattle" "set" for "sat" "met" for "mat"
13.	/æ/ for /e/	everywhere	"pat" for "pet" "vat" for "vet" "last" for "lest"
14.	/a/ for /e/	all places	all words containing /a/ "cup", "mud", "bug", "duck", "luck"
15.	/ə/ for /ɔ/	all places	"cut" for "caught" "but" for "bought" "rut" for "wrought"
16.	/u/for /ʊ/	all places	words like put, book, look, took, shook

APPENDIX II, continued
POTENTIAL NEGATIVE INTERFERENCE FROM A FIRST LANGUAGE: SPANISH

THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

TENSE: FORMATION

Omission of to be in the formation of present progressive:
"He putting he shoes on."

TENSE: USAGE

Present tense response to a question in the past:
Q. What did you do to help your mother?
A. I sweep the floor.

Present tense response to a question in the present progressive:
Q. What's the little boy doing here?
A. He write in the paper.

SUBJECT PRONOUN: USAGE

Omission of subject in the sentence:
Q. Why is the little boy washing his car?
A. Because is dirty.

Use of he in place of she:
Q. What's the little girl doing?
A. He's thinking.

NUMBER AGREEMENT: SUBJECT - VERB

Use of plural verb in place of 3rd person singular form:
"The things that he tell me to take him I take him."

3rd person singular of "to be" used with compound subject:
"The father and the little boy is fishing."

NUMBER AGREEMENT: ANTECEDENT

Use of plural pronoun when antecedent is singular:
Q. Why is the little boy washing his car?
A. Because they won't be dirty.

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APPENDIX II, continued
POTENTIAL NEGATIVE INTERFERENCE FROM A FIRST LANGUAGE: SPANISH

THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS: USAGE

Use of definite article in place of possessive pronoun:
"They're brush the hair."

Use of singular possessive in place of plural possessive:
Q. What are they doing?
A. Washing his teeth.

POSSESSIVE: SUFFIX

Omission of 's with common nouns:
Q. Whose are they?
A. A little brother and a father.

Irregular formation with common nouns:
"The shoes of father and the shoes of his brother."

PREPOSITIONS: SUBSTITUTION

Use of in in place of on:
"Getting in the bed."

PREPOSITIONS: OMISSION

Omission of on from putting on:
"He putting he shoes."

Omission of at from look at:
Q. What's the dog doing?
A. Looking the boy.

SUBSTITUTIONS: MISCELLANEOUS

Use of see in place of look at:
Q. Why do you think so?
A. Because he's seeing the book.

Use of washing their teeth in place of brushing their teeth:
"They're washing their teeth."

Use of card for letter.

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APPENDIX II, continued
POTENTIAL NEGATIVE INTERFERENCE FROM A FIRST LANGUAGE: SPANISH

THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

SPANISH WORDS USED AS BASE, WITH ENGLISH SUFFIXES AND PRONUNCIATION

"Secking" for drying (Sp. secar), "leying" for reading (Sp. leer), "miring" for looking (Sp. mirar).

POSITION OF COLOR ADJECTIVE AND MODIFIED NOUN REVERSED

"I live in that house white."

MISPLACEMENT OF LOCATIVE ADVERB

"A little girl is getting down the dog."

71 #10

REJECTION OF SPEAKER'S DIALECT AS RELATED TO REJECTION OF SPEAKER'S CULTURE

By Howard A. Mims

There is currently a controversy among speech and language specialists concerning the question of changing the dialects of cultural minorities. In particular, the controversy involves the language patterns of Afro-American school children. It has been said that efforts to teach Black children a form of Standard English is "just another way of robbing Black people of pride, dignity and identity" (Denton, 1968). This point of view is growing among Black speech pathologists as evidenced by expressions in public and in private sessions at the American Speech and Hearing Association Convention held in November of 1969 and attended by the writer. Walter Loban (1968) represents a different point of view. He stated that "Children need to perfect or acquire the prestige dialect -- not because Standard English is correct or superior in itself but because society exacts severe penalties from those who do not speak it." Thus, the problem might be reduced to the question of "which procedure is likely to be of greatest benefit to the child?" Which procedure produces the least damage to his/her personality? We must also weigh the promised socioeconomic gains that are to follow acquisition of the prestige dialect. Implicit in Loban's warning about "severe penalties" are statements concerning certain psychological reactions of listeners toward certain linguistic characteristics of speakers. Loban asks that the speaker avoid the punishment that is to be meted out by listeners who attach arbitrary stereotyped value judgements to certain linguistic characteristics. Loban says in effect that the burden is on the speaker to avoid what may be false assumptions of the listener about the personality and competence of the speaker. But in seeking to avoid one assault does the speaker fall into the trap which presents a more serious assault on his/her personality?

Linguistic Relativity

The Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis of linguistic relativity seems to opt for the position which seeks to maintain the integrity of one's language since language is so very much related to the life style and very basic fabric of the speaker's culture. According to Whorf "...the structure of a human being's language influences the manner in which he understands reality and behaves with respect ot it." Sapir (1963), in an essay titled "Dialect," discussed dialect shift and the problem of personality as an individual is subjected to the resulting strains of cultural change. Sapir stated that individuals who are in conflict with their two roles in society can be expected to vacillate and to relapse into early dialectal habits under conditions of stress. One of the arguments against the teaching of English as a second language in Washington, D.C. was that the children invariably revert to their regular dialect as soon as they leave the school situation. Loban would argue that such children are better off in that the experience with Standard English places them in a position to make a choice between the two dialects in question.

Those Black Americans who are in the vanguard of the movement to retain the language patterns which are peculiar to Black Americans may be involved

1969 Unpublished manuscript

in what is conceivably a regular psychological phenomenon which occurs when a culturally subserviant people begin to assert their cultural independence from the dominant culture. Historically, those members of a multicultural society who are members of a cultural group which accepts the assignment of its cultural patterns to a low status can be expected to embrace the cultural patterns which represent higher levels of status in the society. This means that the members of that sub-culture can be expected under such circumstances to eschew their own indigenous cultural patterns. Up until very recent times it was common for Black Americans with middle class aspirations to look with shame upon indigenous Black music, Black food, Black life styles of various dimensions and, of course, Black patterns of language. This represented a type of self-denial and self-depreciation with psychological consequences and concimitant social mischief that perhaps can never be measured or assessed. It seems not unusual for an assertion of linguistic independence to accompany political and social independence. Sapir (1963) spoke of such a change in attitude toward a dialect as becoming "...the symbol of inverted pride." For example, in October, 1962 the Flemish-speaking and French-speaking students at the Catholic University of Louvair in Belgium clashed violently over the further splitting of the university into linguistic entities. Those who spoke the more prestigious French language refused to speak Flemish even in areas where the Flemish were in the majority. The question of language usage is a major point of contention as the French-speaking citizens of the Province of Quebec, Canada move toward political, social and cultural independence. The moves to assert language patterns of a group and to maintain the integrity of that language seem to go hand-in-hand with assertion of the cultural personality of the group as well as the maintenance of the integrity of culturally related personality traits of individual members of the group.

As mentioned earlier, efforts to maintain linguistic integrity of non-prestigious language patterns must contend with some common stereotyped assumptions of listeners. The evidence indicates that certain dialectal characteristics prompt some listeners to intuitively assume that certain paralinguistic information having to do with the speaker's personality, competence and moral integrity are being transmitted by the dialect. Markel, Eisler and Reese (1967), in a study investigating the effect of regional dialect on judgment of personality from voice, concluded that regional dialect is a significant factor in judging personality from voice. A study by Ainsfield, Bogo and Lambert using Gentile and Jewish college students as subjects tested subjects' evaluation of personality characteristics underlying eight voices presented to them on tape. The subjects did not know that the same speakers spoke alternately in Standard English and with a Jewish accent. "The results indicate that the accented guises were comparatively devaluated on height, good looks, and leadership for Gentile and Jewish subjects when the accented guise was perceived as being either Jewish or non-Jewish." The Jewish subjects evaluated the accented guises as being more favorable on sense of humor, entertainingness, and kindness. An investigation by Buck (1968) among college women found that "Speakers using standard dialect were...judged more competent than speakers using non-standard speech...Negro and White speakers with standard dialect were perceived as more trustworthy than the White speaker using non-standard dialect." It seems that as the dialect assumes a lower status in the opinion of the listener the speaker of the low-status dialect tends to be regarded as being less acceptable for certain occupations. There also seems to be a general rejection of the speech pattern. For example, a study by Wolfe and Irwin (1968) revealed that a group of "Northern Caucasion," "Northern Negro," "Southern Caucasion," and "Southern Negro" speakers were judged by listeners as being less acceptable for skilled occupations in the above order. Wolfe and Irwin also found that the Southern White speakers and the Southern Negro speakers rated the speech of "Northern Caucasian" speakers and of "Northern Negro" speakers as being more acceptable than their own speech. This result may be due to an assumption on the part of the Southern speakers about the relative prestige factors of Northern and Southern speech patterns. Such an assumption would tend to indicate an acceptance by some speakers of the arbitrary depreciation of their own dialect.

If acceptance of the depreciation of one's dialect is evidenced it may only be a surface reaction and not a true manifestation of the individual's actual emotional feelings. My own experience in working with persons who have declared that they wish to modify their dialectal characteristics is that there is an underlying resentment toward what the clients seem to regard as an attack against their language. Modification was often slow or nonexistent.

The study that follows was undertaken to test the reactions of speakers to criticism of their language patterns and to observe some prevailing attitudes of listeners toward certain patterns of dialect. The hypotheses to be tested are as follows: 1) Listeners who tend to reject a particular dialect also tend to reject the speaker of that dialect. 2) Listeners tend to make judgements about speakers' occupational competence on the basis of their attitudes toward the speakers' dialect. 3) Listeners tend to react to speakers on the basis of their association of the speakers' dialect with stereotyped racial attitudes. 4) Speakers tend to resent criticism of their language patterns and regard such criticism as personal attacks.

METHODS

A multiple choice questionnaire was administered to a total of 136 undergraduate college students. There were 78 White subjects including 60 males and 18 females. There were 58 Black subjects including 32 males and 26 females. The questionnaire consisted of 13 multiple-choice items with each item presenting the subject with two to five choices. In addition to asking the subjects to complete the identifying data on the cover sheet and to read the instructions, subjects were asked to answer each item as honestly as possible and to avoid long contemplation of their answers. They were asked to record their initial "gut" reactions. Most of the students were members of basic speech classes. Some questionnaires were administered to students who were found in the student lounge area. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

RESULTS

In order to examine the results of the responses made by the participating college students the items on the questionnaire have been divided into two categories. One category has to do with the attitudes of the subjects toward the language pattern presented. A second category deals with those items which sought to reveal the reactions of the subjects toward the idea of having their speech patterns criticized or depreciated. The questionnaire items in the first group include items 3, 4, 6, 7, and 13. Questionnaire items dealing with the second category are items 5, 8, 9, 10, and 11. Items 1, 2 and 12 on the questionnaire will be omitted from this discussion.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER SPEAKERS

Item 3

A majority of the subjects (57.78%) felt that a person who used the non-standard grammar and articulation represented in item three would be acceptable as a close personal friend. Black males (BM) were the most accepting of such a friend in that 71.88 per cent indicated acceptance. They were followed respectively by White females (WF) (61.11%), Black females (BF) (60.00%), while White males (WM) were the least accepting (48.33%).

Item 4

An overwhelming 90.37 per cent of the subjects felt that the language sample represented in this item would prompt them to assign a prospective job applicant to the position of janitor rather than salesman. The Black students were more willing to assign the applicant to a sales position or to either position (14.03%) as opposed to 6.40 per cent of the White subjects who would consider the subject for a position other than janitor. The BFs assigned the position of janitor at the rate of 84.00 per cent; BMs, 87.50 per cent; WMs, 91.66 per cent; WFs, 100.00 per cent.

Item 6

A majority (67.23%) of the Black subjects felt they would have feelings of distrust or hostility as an initial reaction toward a White speaker who had a very "heavy" Southern "accent." Only 12.97 per cent of the White subjects expressed such negative feelings. Most of the White subjects (WMs, 54.23%; WFs, 66.66%) felt that they would have a neutral reaction toward the speaker whereas fewer than a fourth of the Blacks predicted that they would have a neutral reaction (BMs, 25.00%; BFs, 23.07%). Nearly 10% of the subjects felt they would have feelings of superiority.

Item 7

A majority of subjects felt that their initial reaction toward a Black speaker with a very "heavy" Black Southern "accent" would be neutral (55.55%). Black subjects were more likely to have feelings of friendly acceptance than were Whites. Only a few subjects, most of them White males, believed they would have feelings of distrust or hostility. As in item 6, almost 10% of the subjects felt they would feel superior to such a speaker.

Item 13

Nearly forty per cent (39.55%) of the subjects believed that they made judgements about speakers on the basis of their dialects. The percentage for individual groups were as follows: BMs, 34.37 per cent; BFs, 32.00 per cent; WMs, 45.76 per cent; WFs, 38.88 per cent. The White subjects (44.15%) seemed to be more inclined to make such judgements than the Blacks (33.33%).

ATTITUDES TOWARD CRITICISM OF LANGUAGE PATTERNS

Item 5

A majority of the subjects felt that they would react with mild interest or indifference upon being told at the end of a speech that they seemed to have an unusual accent (66.19%). Thus, about one-third of the subjects indicate they would either experience distress and embarrassment, hostility toward the informant or that they would experience both feelings.

Item 8

Most of the subjects expressed a desire to speak like the majority of "educated" speakers. However 53.44 per cent of the Blacks as opposed to 36.36 per cent of the Whites expressed a desire to learn to speak both ways in order to be able to fit in with family and friends as well as with others. Nearly 20 per cent of the subjects felt they would want to maintain their way of talking no matter what other people thought. Black subjects (32.76%) and White subjects (31.15%) were about evenly divided in maintaining that they would maintain their own pattern in spite of the thoughts of others or that they would have no interest in modifying their pattern of oral language so long as they could be understood.

Item 9

A majority of all subjects (63.43%) felt that they would have some interest but no particular emotional reaction if a teacher pointed out that some element of their speech pattern differed from that of other speakers at the university. However, 17.85 per cent of the Black subjects and 11.53 per cent of the Whites felt that they would have the feeling of being attacked and diminished as a person. Three BMs (10.00% of those responding to this item) and one WM (1.66%) indicated that they would have a feeling of hatred toward the teacher who called attention to their pattern of speech. Only 12.50 per cent of the Blacks and 19.23 per cent of the Whites believed they would have a feeling of gratitude toward the teacher.

Item 10

In response to the question regarding the action that the schools should take regarding elementary school children who speak a "Black dialect" or "Black English," 22.05 per cent felt that the children should be encouraged to learn Standard English. Most of the subjects (67.64%) believed that the children should be taught Standard English in addition to their own dialect. A minority (10.29%) selected the answer that "The schools have no business tampering with the way children have learned to get along in their own community."

Item 11

Most of the subjects indicated that it is desirable to change a speaker's non-standard oral pattern to a standard pattern even if the process is accompanied by some embarrassment. However, 25.00 per cent of the Blacks and 23.07 per cent of the whites believed that to seek to change a person's speech to some standard way of talking is to violate that person's personality and to insult him/her as well as his/her family and friends.

DISCUSSION

The results of the suvery provide support for all four hypotheses which are listed on page 3. Even though the data do not show that a majority of

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subjects have attitudes that support the hypotheses, there is evidence that such attitudes are sufficiently prevelant to warrant serious consideration of such attitudes.

The responses to item 3 indicate that listeners who reject a particular dialect reject the speaker as well as his/her dialect. It might be argued that White subjects could find such a speaker unacceptable as a close personal friend merely because the person might have been identified as being Black. Such an attitude may reflect the subject's reluctance to go against social customs and may not be related to any real feeling about the speaker as an individual. While this may be true in part, it does not account for the 28.12 per cent of BMs and 40.00 per cent of BFs who probably find such a speaker unacceptable. One might be led to suspect that rejection of such a speaker by Black subjects probably can be interpreted as a rejection of the speaker's social class and, thus, his cultural characteristics. Such a basis for rejection of the individual would tend to lead to the conclusion that rejection of a pattern of social dialect is accompanied by a rejection of the culture of the speaker, i.e., his manner of perceiving and adapting to reality. This seems consistent with the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis concerning the relationship of language to culture.

Responses to item 4 tend to support the hypothesis that listeners tend to make judgements about speakers' occupational competence on the basis of their attitude toward a speaker's dialect. An overwhelming majority of the subjects (90.37%) would assign the speaker to a position of janitor rather than salesman. The subjects may have been expressing their awareness of an employer's motive for profit and they may have been considering the effect such a salesman would have on prospective customers. Even so, the subjects were attesting to their opinion that a salesman who spoke with such a dialect would be rejected by others if not by themselves. It is probably significant that a higher percentage of Black subjects than Whites would have considered such a speaker for the sales position. This is probably due to the knowledge on the part of Black subjects of competent persons who speak with a similar dialect.

The responses indicate that listeners do tend to associate certain dialectal patterns with stereotyped racial attitudes and that the feelings engendered in the listener by the dialect are directed toward the speaker. This was especially evident in the responses by Black subjects to item 6. The Blacks tend to react to the White Southerner with distrust and hostility while the proportion of White reactions of that type differed substantially. Many more Blacks than Whites reported that they would react to the Black speaker (with a "heavy" Southern "accent") in terms of friendly acceptance. Such reactions would seem to indicate that dialectal characteristics must be an important consideration in interracial communication. The expression of superiority over speakers of southern dialects would seem to be further evidence of a tendency of listeners to depreciate the language, the person, and the culture of speakers of low-prestige dialect.

It is significant that nearly 40 per cent of the subjects questioned admitted to being aware of an initial tendency to judge people on the basis of their dialect. The WM subjects indicated the greatest awareness of such judgements. This may indicate that the WM subjects have the greatest tendency to pre-judge people on the basis of dialect. In this survey the

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WM subjects evidenced the greatest tendency of the four groups of subjects to reject persons on the basis of dialect. The Blacks were found to be generally more accepting of non-standard dialects than were Whites. This difference in attitudes between the racial groups can probably be attributed to the greater familiarity of Blacks with actual individuals who use patterns of oral language that are similar to the patterns represented.

The responses to the questionnaire items dealing with the attitudes of listeners toward efforts to correct their speech seem to support the hypothesis which states that "Speakers tend to resent criticism of their language patterns and regard such criticism as personal attacks." Responses to item 5 indicate that the great majority of the subjects would not be greatly disturbed at being told that their speech was characterized by an unusual accent. However, a few subjects indicated that they would be embarrassed, hostile, or both at the mere statement that their speech was unusual. Item 9 reveals that 17.85 per cent of the Black subjects would experience a feeling of being attacked and diminished as a person upon being told by a teacher that their speech pattern differed from that of most speakers at the University. It is probably significant that even though nearly two-thirds of the subjects indicated that they would experience some interest but no particular emotional reaction, only 16.41% of the subjects indicated that they would have a feeling of gratitude toward the teacher. It is significant that nearly one-fourth of the subjects felt that to seek to change a person's speech pattern to some standard way of talking is to violate that person's personality and to insult him/her as well as family and friends. The similarity in the response of Blacks and Whites to this item may suggest a universal intuitive awareness of the relationship that exists between one's language and one's culture. The selection of answer "c" in item 11 may indicate that speakers do feel diminished by criticism of their language, but that they will probably be compensated as a result of their conformity with the standard pattern. Answer "b" of item 10 probably represents another expression of the desire to conform and to be accepted in that the speakers are advised to become bidialectal. Such a compromise would seem, at least on the surface, to maintain the integrity of the speaker's language while conforming to the standard of the prestige dialect.

This survey seems to indicate that rejection of a speaker's dialect tends to be accompanied by a rejection of the speaker as well. This position seems to be confirmed when a subject is placed in the role of being either speaker or listener. This survey tends to support the findings of other studies of listener attitudes cited in this paper. The observations of the data from this survey can serve only as a preliminary or pilot study because of the use of orthographic representations of patterns of dialect. A follow-up study should use authentic tape recorded speech samples. Some of the items of the questionnaire should have been limited in terms of the conditions that were presented - such a limitation would insure greater similarity of interpretation on the part of the subjects.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

Attitudes Concerning Speech Characteristics

Please write in the information called for and circle the items that describe your status.

College or University:____

Sex: M F Race: Black; White; Oriental; Other____________ Age:________

Academic Classification: Freshman; Sophomore; Junior; Senior; Graduate.

College: Arts and Sciences; Business; Education; Engineering; Other__________

Major:______________________________

Instructions

Check the answer that best describes your attitude, belief, feeling, etc. about each of the following items. Please make a choice in each instance. If no answer is exactly satisfactory to you, please check the answer that is most nearly "correct" in your case. Give the answer that is the best expression of your feelings. Do not spend time thinking over your answers. Your first reaction is very likely to be the most accurate reaction. There is no interest in identifying the participants in this study. No one but you will know what answers you gave.

1. What conclusion would you draw about a person who says: "Whut ya'll gon' do dis eenin?" instead of "What are you going to do this evening?"

   a. The speaker is uneducated.
   b. The speaker has a very low I.Q.
   c. The speaker is culturally deprived.
   d. The speaker has a speech defect.
   e. The speaker speaks a nonstandard dialect.

2. A speaker who says "Ummo ax ma frien tuh go wif me" instead of "I'm going to ask my friend to go with me,"

   a. is probably a Black speaker.
   b. is probably a White Appalachian speaker.
   c. is probably a very unusual person since few if any Americans talk like that
   d. cannot be identified by the information given.
   e. is speaking normal but casual speech.

3. A speaker who says "De chairmens has awready done presented they repoat" instead of "The chairmen have already presented their report,"

   a. could easily be accepted by me as a close personal friend if personality factors were compatible with mine.
   b. would probably not be acceptable to me as a close personal friend if this sample is representative of his manner of speaking.

4. If you were an employer with the responsibility of assigning jobs to workers and you had to do it purely on the basis of a phone conversation, which job would you assign to the following speaker? This is a sample of his/her speech: "Fo of the mens was dere fuh dinnuh" instead of "Four of the men were there for dinner."

   a. Salesperson.
   b. Janitor.
   c. Either job could be assigned.

5. If you spoke before a large audience of college-trained listeners and were told at the end of your speech that you seemed to have an unusual accent, what would be your most probable reaction?

   a. Mild interest.
   b. Indifference.
   c. Distress and embarrassment.
   d. Hostility toward the informant.
   e. Distress and embarrassment in addition to hostility toward the speaker.

6. What is likely to be your initial feeling toward a White speaker who has a very "heavy" southern "accent?"

   a. a neutral reaction.
   b. a feeling of distrust.
   c. a feeling of hostility.
   d. friendly acceptance.
   e. a feeling that you are superior.

7. What is likely to be your initial reaction toward a Black speaker who has a very "heavy" Black southern "accent?"

   a. a neutral reaction.
   b. a feeling of distrust.
   c. a feeling of hostility.
   d. friendly acceptance.
   e. a feeling that you are superior.

8. If your speech pattern differs somewhat from that of the majority of "educate speakers which would be your most probably attitude?

   a. a strong desire to speak like those in the majority.
   b. a desire to learn to speak both ways so thatyou can fit in with family and friends as well as with others.
   c. seek to maintain your own way of talking no matter what others think.
   d. no interest as long as you can be understood.

9. What would be your initial emotional feeling if a teacher pointed out to you that your speech pattern or some element of your speech pattern differed fro that of most speakers at this University?

   a. a feeling of being attacked and diminished as a person.
   b. a feeling of hatred toward the teacher.
   c. a feeling of gratitude toward the teacher.
   d. a feeling that the teacher was mistaken about what he had heard.
   e. some interest but no particular emotional reaction.

10. What should be done in the schools about elementary school children who speak what has been referred to as a "Black dialect" or "Black English?"

    a. The children should be encouraged to give up their dialect and to learn "Standard English."
    b. The children should be taught to use Standard English in addition to their own dialect.
    c. The schools have no business tampering with the way children have learned to get along in their own community.

11. When you seek to change a person's speech pattern to some "standard" way of talking

    a. you violate that person's personality and insult him/her as well as his/h family and friends.
    b. you do that person a valuable favor which will probably pay off in the long run.
    c. you do something that may be embarrassing at first but it will be of benefit in the long run.

12. How do you think your speech pattern compares with the standard pattern of speech that is spoken at this University?
    a. It is about the same as most speakers.
    b. It is characterized by a distinct dialect or accent that is unlike Standard speech.
    c. The grammar as well as speech sounds differ from Standard speech in many respects.
    d. It is probably better than the speech of the average person at this University.
    e. It differs from the Standard pattern but it is just as good as the pattern used by other speakers.

13. Do you tend to make initial judgements about people on the basis of their dialect?
    a. Yes.
    b. No.

COMMENTS:

Frequent use of Black English type language (ie. "is" for "are," was/were", "f" instead of "th", theirself/themselves, and is instead of am. Communication not suitable for...

. . . Effects of Speaking *Black English* Upon Employment Opportunities

Sandra L. Terrell
Francis Terrell

Does the use of Black English adversely affect employment opportunities? Sandra and Francis Terrell explored this issue and the controversy regarding the use of Black English and found that Black English speakers are offered fewer jobs than standard English speakers. Sandra Terrell is an assistant professsor in the Division of Communication Disorders and Francis Terrell is an associate professor in the Department of Psychology at North Texas State University, Denton.

Black English has been the subject of ongoing debate. At least two major controversies exist in this area. One area of debate has consisted of attempts to explain the linguistic differences between Black and White children. A second area of debate has centered upon the outcome or consequences of speaking Black English.

Essentially two explanations have been proposed to explain the linguistic characteristics prevalent among many Black children. Deutsch (1965) and John (1963) maintain that lower socioeconomic and various ethnic group members have a language deficiency. Theorists espousing this deficiency hypothesis hold the view that the tendency of Black children to use fewer words coupled with the finding that their performance on various linguistic tasks tends to be lower than that of middle-class White children reflects a cognitive deficiency (Osser, Wang, and Zaid, 1969). In contrast, Labov (1966), Shuy (1969), and Baratz (1969) maintain that a legitimate dialectal difference exists among the various ethnic groups. These theorists have suggested that variations in linguistic style found among various ethnic groups reflect cultural differences.

A second area of debate concerns the ramifications or consequences of speaking Black English. Essentially two positions exist as to whether Black children should be taught and encouraged to speak Black English. On the one hand, some behavioral scientists propose that Black children should be permitted to speak Black English. Adherents to this position maintain that the use of Black English is important for the development and enhancement of a healthy self-concept among Black children. In contrast, Clark (1975) and Taylor (1970) have proposed that Black children who are encouraged to use Black English will be handicapped in several ways. First, these individuals will not be successful in schools and second, speakers of Black English will be at a relative disadvantage in obtaining employment.

Previous research has shown that children who speak a dialect related to their own subculture tend to have a higher self-concept (Lefley, 1975). However, no studies are available examining whether Blacks who speak Black English are at a disadvantage when seeking employment. This study sought to fill that void by examining whether a relationship exists between number of job offers made and type of dialect spoken.

Method

Participants

Participants used in this study were 100 personnel managers of large businesses who had advertised position openings in local newspapers for secretaries in a large southwestern

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metropolitan area.

Interviewees

Interviewees were six Black, advanced undergraduate females whose ages ranged from 20 to 22 years. Three of the interviewees' basic vocabulary consisted primarily of Black English according to the criteria used by Baratz (1969). These interviewees were designated as Group A. The other three interviewees' primary vocabulary was relatively absent of Black English features and they were designated as Group B interviewees.

Procedures

The want ads of newspapers in a large southwestern metroplex were observed over an 11-month period for announcements of secretarial positions. When an ad appeared which seemed appropriate for this study, the senior investigator phoned the agency and asked if the position was still vacant and attempted to obtain information concerning the requirements for the position. If the position was still open, an appointment was scheduled for a job interview. Next, based upon a coin toss, one of the two types of interviewees went to the agency at the scheduled appointment time (or the next day if no appointment was required) to apply for the position. Each of the applicants carried three very favorable but bogus letters of recommendation and was instructed to inform all potential employers that she was familiar with operating various popular types of office machines and had two years of previous experiences as a secretary. Also, just prior to entering the personnel manager's office for the interview, the applicant unobtrusively switched on a tape recorder and stop-watch carried in her purse. At the conclusion of each interview, if it was not already known, the interviewees asked the personnel manager what the wages for the position were.

Prior to conducting this study it was decided not to include female and Black personnel managers since they might be more receptive to disenfranchised groups and consequently, more sympathetic to Black English speakers. Also, although no research could be found to support this, it was speculated that currently there are few female and Black personnel managers. Thus, a second reason it was decided to exclude female and black personnel managers was that they would not be a true reflection of the personnel manager population. Third, it was decided to eliminate any manager who did not permit the applicant to talk for a minimum of five minutes. It was felt that any amount of time less than this would not be sufficient to permit the personnel manager fully to recognize whether the applicant was speaking Black English or standard English. Finally, it was decided not to include any protocols in which a Group A interviewee did not use at least five Black English features or a Group B interviewee used more than one Black English feature.

In all, 121 agencies were contacted. Of these, nine were eliminated because the initial phone call indicated that the position had been filled. Five others were eliminated because of the applicant talked less than five minutes. Of the five agencies eliminated for this reason, three had been visited by a Black English speaker and two had been visited by a standard English speaker. Seven other agencies visited were not considered in the data analysis because the personnel manager who conducted the interview was either Black, a female, or both Black and a female.

Prior to examining the hypotheses of this study, a check was made to insure that those managers who were intended to be exposed to Black English had been and those who were intended to be exposed to standard English also had been. To do this, two judges who were familiar with Black English features listened to each tape recording of the interview. Judges then, independently of each other, counted the number of Black English features in each tape. As mentioned previously, it was decided prior to analyzing the data that if the standard English speaker had more than one Black English feature, that tape would be eliminated from the data analysis and, conversely, if the Black English speaker had less than five Black English features, that tape would also be eliminated. If either judge indicated that a tape did not meet this criterion, that tape was eliminated. No tapes were discarded because of this criterion.

Results

The major purpose of this study was to examine the number of applicants offered jobs as a function of whether the interviewee spoke Black or standard English. However two dependent measures were used to evaluate the hypothesis of this study. One measure examined was the amount of time interviewers spent with candidates. Previous research indicates that the longer an employer interviews an applicant, the more desirable that applicant is usually perceived to be (Tullar, Mullins, and Caldwell, 1979). Therefore, it was reasoned that the more interested an employer was in hiring an interviewee used in this study, the more time the employer would devote to that candidate. A second measure used was the amount of job offers each group of applicants received. Employers who had not contacted an applicant after a two-week interval were telephoned by the applicant who requested information as to whether a job offer was going to be made.

The average amount of time spent with Black English speakers was 17.34 minutes (S.D. = 7.96) while the mean amount of time spent with standard English speakers was 24.64 minutes (S.D. = 10.09). A significant difference was found between the two groups ($t = 2.59$, $p < .05$, two-tailed).

The major variable used to examine the hypothesis of this study was the actual number of job offers made to each applicant. The number of job offers made to Black English speakers was eight while the number of job offers to the standard English speakers was 17. Using a chi square with Yates correction applied, a significant difference in the number of job offers to the groups was found ($x^2 = 7.86$, $p < .01$.) To estimate the percentage of shared variance between type of dialect spoken and job offers, a phi coefficient was computed. The results indicated that 28% of the variance between linguistic style and job offers was accounted for in this study.

While these results seem to indicate that differences in linguistic style was the important determinant of whether applicants received job offers, several other explanations are available to account for these differences. One possible alternative explanation is that differences in the amount of spoken words influenced personnel managers' decisions rather than dialectal style.

However, no differences were found in the number of words spoken for standard English speakers who were hired versus those who were not hired ($t = 1.05$, $p > .05$) nor for Black English speakers who were hired versus those who were not hired ($t = 1.44$, $p > .05$). These findings imply that the total number of words spoken by interviewees was not an important determinant of whether a job offer was made.

Finally, decisions to hire or not to hire may have been due to differences among managers in the amount of money they were either willing or authorized to pay applicants. That is, it is possible that the reason standard English speakers received more job offers was that the managers who interviewed them either had less money to offer or attempted to hire these individuals at a lower level of pay than those managers who interviewed Black English speakers. To explore this possibility, applicants were divided into Black English versus standard English speakers and further separated according to whether a job offer was made. The mean amount of pay for the Black English speakers who were not hired was $5.05 per hour (S.D. = 1.46) while the mean wages offered to Black English speakers who were hired was $3.52 (S.D. = .80). For the standard English speakers who were not hired the mean pay was $5.20 (S.D. = 1.16) and the mean wages offered to the standard English speakers who were hired was $5.34 (S.D. = 1.38). Using a 2 × 2 (type of dialect by job offer) ANOVA, differences in hourly wages between groups were examined. No significant differences in wages were found for the main effects of type of dialect or job offers. However, a significant interaction effect was found among the groups $F(1,96) = 7.55$, $p < .01$. Scheffe's method of post hoc comparisons was used to examine differences between groups. No significant differences in potential wages were found between Black English speakers who were not offered jobs and standard English speakers who were not offered jobs or between Black English speakers who were not offered jobs and standard English speakers who were offered jobs. Also, no significant differences were found between standard English speakers who were offered positions and standard English speakers who were not offered positions. However, Black English speakers who were offered positions, were offered jobs whose wages were signficantly lower than Black English speakers who were not offered jobs ($p < .01$). In addition, Black English speakers, who were offered positions, were offered jobs whose wages were significantly lower than standard English speakers who were offered positions ($p < .01$). Thus, contrary to expectations, these results seem to indicate that rather than standard English speakers being offered positions due to possible lower wage levels, Black English speakers who were offered employment, were offered these positions because of lower wage levels.

Discussion

This study examined differences in job offers as a function of whether interviewees spoke Black or standard English during the interview. It was found that interviewees who spoke Black English were given shorter interviews and fewer job offers than interviewees who spoke standard English. In addition, when job offers were made, it was found that individuals who spoke Black English were offered positions paying significantly less than standard English speakers who were offered jobs. Thus, the results of this study seem to support the contentions of previous theorists who maintain that speakers of Black English will be at an economic disadvantage relative to speakers of standard English.

It should be noted, however, that the design of this study may place limitations on the generalization of the results. This study deliberately selected clerical positions as a context in which to test the hypothesis of this study. The rationale for this was that at the time this study was conducted, there was a high demand for individuals with clerical skills in the area where the data were collected. Thus, the use of secretarial positions as the context in which to test the hypotheses of this study was done primarily for convenience. An important aspect of jobs of this sort is that they require a significant amount of verbal interaction with others. Had interviewees applied for a different type of position which does not require a significant amount of interaction with others, different results may have been found. There are no data available regarding this issue. Studies examining the relationship between dialectal differences and type of employment would be of value to understand better the economic consequences of speaking Black English.

Because of the possible limited generalization of these findings, results of this initial study do not permit one to conclude definitively that dialectal style is related to economic opportunity. However, if it is assumed momentarily that dialectal style is related to employment opportunities, the results of this study would seem to have several implications. The most obvious is that those who advocate training and encouraging Blacks to speak Black English may be running the risk of reducing those persons' marketability. For those who prefer to encourage Blacks to speak Black English, a more appropriate strategy might be to teach children both Black English and standard English. Additionally, it may be desirable for those who advocate the use of Black English to work at a societal level to change apparently negative attitudes toward Black English.

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CULTURAL INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND TREATMENT OF STUTTERING: A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE BLACK STUTTERER

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A behavioral analysis of a group of stutterers revealed speech behavioral differences that appeared to be culturally determined. Two general types of stuttering behavioral patterns were differentiated. The stuttering behaviors characteristic of the first pattern were overt repetitions and prolongations with a moderate number of secondary characteristics that were also overt and of the same relative degree of severity as the prolongations and repetitions. The second pattern was characterized by prolongations and repetitions that were more covert and by a larger number of secondary characteristics that were considerably more severe than the repetitions and prolongations. While 85% of the first pattern, Group I, were white stutterers, 79% of the second pattern, Group II, were black stutterers. These results are explained by important black cultural elements such as (1) the importance of oral skills, (2) the importance of manifesting emotional "coolness," and (3) the cultural rejection of disfluent speech patterns. The authors believe that, generally, the forces within the black culture tend to be in opposition to currently practiced stuttering treatment procedures.

During 1973 and 1974 Leith was involved in the development of a rating scale for stuttering. From application of the rating scale and from clinical evidence, we have found strong indications that cultural factors appear to be influential in the development of stuttering behaviors. Furthermore, we believe that these factors must be dealt with in the treatment of stuttering. This paper presents observations that led the authors to hypothesize that cultural factors influence stuttering patterns and that factors specific to black American culture must be considered by persons providing treatment to black persons who stutter. Sociolinguistic information pertinent to the hypotheses is reviewed, and implications for therapy are discussed. Formal discussion of cultural factors is extremely limited in the literature on stuttering, but social and cultural factors are often tangentially alluded to through discussion of parental pressure, home environment, and other factors (Lemert, 1970). A review

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of the literature by the authors has failed to reveal any specific consideration of cultural factors in theories concerned with the development and treatment of stuttering. Berlin and Berlin (1964) reported on the influence of socioeconomic levels on individual reactions to stuttering behaviors but their report is not directly related to any particular cultural group. They found that individuals in lower socioeconomic groups were less accepting of disfluent speech patterns than were persons in higher socioeconomic groups. We feel that this socioeconomic factor may be operative in our findings concerning influences from the black culture. However, we also believe there are still other factors, cultural rather than socioeconomic, that are involved in the rejection of disfluent speech patterns within the black community. We arrived at our basic hypotheses as a result of the application of the Behavior Profile Sheet (Leith, 1975) and from our own clinical observations.

BACKGROUND

Leith's Behavior Profile Sheet, a rating scale for stuttering, is based on the concept that stuttering is not a single behavioral event but rather a grouping or clustering of behavioral events around the nucleus, which is made up of repetitions and prolongations. With prolongations and repetitions as the core of the stuttering behavior, other behaviors become associated with the grouping or cluster if they contribute to avoiding, terminating, or masking of the prolongations or repetitions. Thus, the Behavior Profile Sheet views the phenomenon of stuttering from a molecular level. This means that each associated behavior is considered an independent behavioral event and these events have the dimensions of frequency of occurrence, intensity of occurrence, and duration of occurrence (Kanfer and Saslow, 1969).

The Behavior Profile Sheet is used to classify stuttering into three major behavioral categories: (1) stuttering behaviors (repetitions and prolongations); (2) vocal speech modifiers (vocal speech behaviors such as prolonging sounds, repeating words or phrases, or speaking at a fast rate in order to avoid, terminate, or mask stuttering); and (3) nonvocal speech modifiers (nonvocal behaviors such as eye blinks, head movements, body movements, or facial contortions that are used to avoid, terminate, or mask stuttering).

The examiner rates behavioral excesses or deficits on a three-point scale in terms of deviation from normal regarding frequency (too many eye blinks or too few blinks), intensity (too much compression of the lips on a bilabial sound or too little compression so that the sound is distorted), and duration (eye contact that lasts too long or eye contact that does not last long enough).

Two Stuttering Patterns

During the development of the Behavior Profile Sheet, Leith completed 25 behavior profiles on stutterers between the ages of 11 and 33 who came to the Cleveland Hearing and Speech Center for speech evaluations. Normal

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intake procedures at the center were followed and 25 stutterers were assigned to Leith for evaluation. Upon completion of the evaluation, an examination of the Behavior Profile Sheets indicated that two rather distinct patterns of stuttering behaviors were emerging.

Those stutterers in Group I would, perhaps, be considered most typical of the stuttering population. Stuttering behaviors (repetitions and prolongations) were primarily overt, and the frequency, intensity, and duration of the repetitions and prolongations were observable and measurable. This group also manifested a moderate number of speech modifiers, and these behaviors deviated from normal at about the same degree as did the stuttering behaviors. Overall, there was a consistency in all behaviors in that the same degree of severity seemed to be present in all behaviors. In describing these stutterers it could be said that they, although somewhat tense and emotionally involved in the stuttering, could allow the repetitions and prolongations to occur overtly.

The Group II stutterers tended not to manifest overt stuttering behaviors. If a repetition or prolongation did occur, attempts were made to mask it or, in some way, to make it as covert as possible. On some occasions, if these stutterers felt that repetitions or prolongations might occur, they would not even attempt speech. Thus, the frequency, intensity, and duration of these stuttering behaviors were extremely difficult to observe and measure. If the evaluation of the severity of stuttering was based only on the frequency of occurrence of repetitions and prolongations, these stutterers would be considered mild or perhaps even normal speakers. However, the stutterers in Group II manifested a disproportionately large number of speech modifiers. The speech modifiers were also, for the most part, rated as severe in terms of frequency, intensity, or duration of occurrence. Thus, the ratings of the speech modifiers were not consistent with the ratings of the stuttering behaviors. It was this lack of consistency that first brought into focus the separation of the categories of the stutterers. This group of stutterers had many severe speech modifiers while the stuttering behaviors (repetitions and prolongations) were less severe and more covert. The Group II stutterers tended to be tense and anxious and seemed less willing than Group I stutterers to tolerate the occurrences of overt repetitions or prolongations.

After determining the operational definitions for the two groups of stutterers, the authors and three graduate students in speech pathology sorted coded Behavior Profile Sheets into the two groups. The results of this sorting process are to be found in Table 1. Of the persons in Group I, 84.8% were white stutterers, while black stutterers represented 79.4% of Group II.

Conferences were held with public school speech clinicians in Indianapolis and South Bend, Indiana, and in Cleveland, Ohio, regarding the findings of the investigation. Clinical evidence provided by these speech clinicians supported the grouping concept. The clinicians agreed that both the male and female black stutterers tend to present Group II patterns, but they stated that preadolescent black stutterers did not differentiate themselves in this way.

TABLE 1. Results of sorting Behavior Profile Sheets.

	Group I				*Group II*			
	Black		*White*		*Black*		*White*	
Sorter	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Leith	1	10	9	90	11	73	4	27
Mims	2	18	9	82	11	78	3	22
Grad 1	2	20	8	80	12	80	3	20
Grad 2	1	10	9	90	12	80	3	20
Grad 3	2	18	9	82	12	86	2	14
Means	1.6	15.2	8.8	84.8	11.6	79.4	3.0	20.6

It was felt that the majority of black stutterers moved into a Group II classification from a Group I classification but the exact age of this movement could not be agreed upon.

The authors speculated that cultural factors were influencing the development of stuttering and perhaps also the response to the treatment of stuttering. In reflecting on past clinical experience with many black stutterers, both authors felt that their clinical effectiveness was limited because of the incompatibility of existing clinical paradigms with black cultural influences. The next portion of the paper discusses cultural influences in the development and treatment of stuttering and the implications that these cultural influences might have on current treatment paradigms. The authors make rather broad statements concerning cultural influences which might produce this form of stuttering. It is stressed that we recognize that these broad statements and generalizations apply neither to all black stutterers nor to all cultural groups. Generalizations and broad applications of theories are made with these limitations in mind.

CULTURAL FACTORS

The evidence which suggests that black stutterers tend to differ from white stutterers in terms of the nature of the stuttering behavior and in terms of reactions to certain therapeutic procedures has led to speculation about possible causes for such supposed differences. From our observations we have arrived at the following hypotheses:

1. Black stutterers are basically behaviorally different from white stutterers with regard to their stuttering patterns.
2. The behavioral differences in stuttering patterns are the result of cultural differences.
3. These cultural differences will result in the black stutterer reacting differently to treatment than the white stutterer.

If the various hypotheses being considered in this paper are supported by more systematic and intensive investigation, a comparative study of the nature and function of language in black and white cultures may provide some answers to questions about the etiology of specific stuttering behaviors.

Sociolinguists are keenly aware of the cultural differences that are manifested in different language styles and in terms of function of language in interpersonal relationships in different cultures. Smith (1970, p. *x*) states that the black Americans are essentially an oral people like their ancestors in Africa. In many black African societies the history and traditions of the individual groups were transmitted orally, and the elder who kept this information was one of the most revered members of the community. The importance of orality has been maintained and is seen in the black society today. Being able to "rap," "sound," or "run it down" are skills that are prized in the black culture. This is not only true of blacks in the so-called "street culture," but it is also true, to some extent, at every level of the society (Smith, 1970).

Black speakers have not depended on their ability to use standard or "white speech" patterns for their verbal success within the black community. Mitchell (1970, p. 148) went so far as to assert that "Black preaching requires the use of black language—the rich rendition of English spoken in the black ghetto." Skills in "shucking," "jiving," "signifying," and "playing the dozens" as described by Kochman (1972) are familiar to most black males and to a considerable number of black females. The premium placed on oral skills among black New York City street gangs is evidenced by the following observation by Labov and Robbins (1970, p. 210): "Sources of prestige within the group are physical size, toughness, courage and skill in fighting; skill with language in ritual insults, verbal routines with girls, singing, jokes and storytelling; knowledge of nationalist lore. . . ." Dale (1972, p. 250) has also commented on the value of fluency in the black community. He reported that, "The verbal deficit hypothesis is contradicted by the observations by many social scientists and others familiar with black culture that there is great emphasis on verbal fluency." He goes on to describe several types of aggressive verbal behaviors and concludes that ". . . in general, superior verbal fluency is a mark of distinction."

The term *fluency* as used above carries a different meaning than when using the term in reference to the stutterer. Fluency, as used in this context, means a continuing, forward-moving verbalization. The speech may be filled with repeated phrases such as "you know," and "I mean," but there is no hesitancy in terms of the continual flow of verbalization. These phrases may even be chained on occasions, such as "you know, you know, you know," but the continuing flow of verbalization represents fluency.

Another characteristic which brings about esteem and prestige to the individual within segments of the black community is the individual's ability to be "cool." To be "cool" is to always appear to be in control of the emotions, to never be caught off guard, to have everything under control, to be unruffled by social encounters such as competitive verbal games or various types of interpersonal altercations. Cole (1970), in describing a "cool" individual wrote, "Cool? No one ever hears him speak above a whisper. Always calm. Never, I mean in a hurry. Slow and steady. Always seeming to know his next move in advance." Talking "cool" and being fluent would appear to be directly related. The black stutterers whose culture places a particular premium on being fluent and on being "cool" would appear to have a handicap that deprives them of a culturally unique source of prestige among their peers.

In order to minimize his handicap the young black stutterer appears to turn to culturally approved speech behaviors for speech modifiers in order to avoid, terminate, or mask the stuttering and the resultant emotional reactions. It is our contention that the black idiom includes many verbal and gestural characteristics that lend themselves in a peculiar way to the communicative patterns of black stutterers. We are suggesting that there may be a pattern of appropriating these linguistic and gestural characteristics in an effort to avoid, terminate, or mask stuttering in a way that is more in keeping with the demands of the culture than the overt repetitions or prolongations.

Thus, the speech clinician must deal with the young black stutterer who, like most young people, is striving for cultural and peer recognition and approval. For many young blacks the principle means of achieving this recognition and approval is through verbal skills in competitive games such as "playing the dozens," "rapping," "capping," and "signifying," as well as in noncompetitive social speech. Even their noncompetitive social communication can be the source of ridicule whenever the overt stuttering behaviors occur.

CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

If the black cultural environment penalizes the occurrence of repetitions and prolongations, and by positive social reinforcement encourages the speech modifiers, the cultural influences are in conflict with the goals of some therapy programs. These are treatment programs where overt stuttering is encouraged so that repetitions and prolongations can be controlled and speech modifiers are eliminated. It would appear that therapy of this nature would, of necessity, fail since the impact of peer or cultural reinforcement or punishment would be far greater than the therapeutic impact of a clinician, who might see the stutterer only once a week and probably is not of the stutterer's peer or cultural group. There seem to be only two clinical options available to the speech clinician who is working with a Group II black stutterer.

The first option is to get the stutterers to deal with their environment in a new and more positive way. This type of clinical approach would of necessity be cognitive in nature and the stutterers would have to reject cultural responses so that a traditional stuttering therapy program could be applied. These stutterers would have to be able to work counter to the culture by allowing the stuttering to occur, by learning to control the stuttering behavior, and by eliminating the speech modifiers. The authors feel that this therapeutic approach would have little success with the young black stutterer.

The second clinical option would be the use of clinical treatment programs that reinforce fluent speech behavior and extinguish disfluent speech behavior. These therapy paradigms are either classical (respondent) behavior modification along the lines of Wolpe (1958) or instrumental (operant) following the lead of Goldiamond (1965). There are many therapy models in the behavior paradigm (Ingham and Andrews, 1973), but almost without exception the therapy programs call for the reinforcement of fluency or the punishment of disfluency. In either the classical or instrumental paradigm, the therapeutic goal is fluent speech with no therapeutic strategy for dealing with terminating stuttering blocks which might follow treatment. These therapies having a goal of total fluency would seem to be amenable to the cultural demands on the black stutterer.

However, there appears to be a major problem in either the classical desensitization therapy paradigm or the instrumental reinforcement paradigm. If, indeed, the black stutterers are culturally so dependent on fluency, it is highly likely that they will, in their highly sensitized state, have difficulty dealing with even the slightest disfluency. We suspect that even normal speech disfluencies are probably unacceptable to them in that these can carry almost the same degree of cultural rejection as do their stuttering disfluencies. Thus, even after a successful desensitization treatment program, these stutterers would appear to be very susceptible to regression since they and their culture are so highly sensitized to any type of speech disfluency.

Within the instrumental paradigm the stutterer is also very susceptible to regression, since the culture is highly sensitive to speech fluency and openly punishes members of the culture according to their degree of disfluency. Again, even normal speech disfluencies interfere with the fluency factor within the culture so that the stutterer, already highly sensitized to cultural pressure and reactions to disfluencies, is extremely vulnerable to open cultural rejection of any form of disfluent speech.

The authors do not have any therapeutic answers to the unique problems presented by the black stutterer. Our clinical experiences have been, for the most part, quite negative. The black stuttering clients have, with an intriguing consistency, terminated their therapy at a particular point in therapy. Mims (1967) examined the lack of clinical success with the teenage and young adult black stutterer and discussed that point in therapy when the black stutterer abandons the therapy program. Therapy carried on within the clinic apparently is not a frightening situation, and the stutterer can tolerate this aspect of therapy. However, when demands are placed upon them to take the new behaviors and introduce the behaviors to their peers, the stutterers often terminate therapy. Leith also experienced the withdrawal of the black stutterer from the therapy program during this period in therapy. It would appear that peer and cultural pressures are too great a factor for the stutterers to deal with and that the conflict between clinical needs and cultural needs can only be resolved by eliminating the disruptive influence of clinical demands.

There are, in all likelihood, many factors from various cultures which are

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influential in the development and treatment of stuttering. More subtle cultural influences are certain to exist but have not been explored in this article or in any literature that the authors have found. However, if these or any other factors were instrumental in the development of stuttering we feel they must be dealt with in the treatment program. The speech clinician must be trained to work within cultural demands and he or she must be provided with treatment paradigms which allow for unique influences by various cultures. A good treatment program must work within cultural demands and not at cross purposes with the stutterer's environment.

The authors are very much aware of the weaknesses in the design of this initial investigation, but they feel that the implications are worthy of serious consideration by the practicing clinician and the researcher concerned with the treatment of stuttering. The reliability of the Behavior Profile Sheet and an associated video training program are being tested in a doctoral research study at Case Western Reserve University.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This study was supported in part by a grant from the General Service Foundation. Data for this study were collected while Leith was on the faculty at Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Requests for reprints should be addressed to William R. Leith, Department of Speech Communication and Theatre, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

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UDC and CAL

VOCABULARY

In the following sentences, choose the meaning(s) of the sentences as you would normally understand them. In a few cases, a sentence may have more than one meaning, but you should normally look for one meaning. Different sentences may mean different things to different people, and we're simply interested in what they may mean to you. If a sentence doesn't really mean anything to you, write "Don't Know" under the sentence.

1. I hear that Mrs. Jones has a crumb snatcher.
    - a. Mrs. Jones has a dog that begs at the table.
    - b. Mrs. Jones has a cat.
    - c. Mrs Jones has a pet that begs at the table.
    - d. Mrs. Jones has a baby.

2. Don't waste the milk!
    - a. Don't spill the milk!
    - b. Don't drink the milk!
    - c. Drink all the milk!
    - d. Don't taste the milk !

3. Mrs. Jones has mother wit.
    - a. Mrs. Jones has a clever mother.
    - b. Mrs. Jones is very funny.
    - c. Mrs. Jones has common sense.
    - d. Mrs. Jones has a lot of patience.

4. John was doing a slow drag.
    - a. John was dancing a slow dance.
    - b. John was driving in his car slowly.
    - c. John was smoking his cigarette slowly.
    - d. John was walking very slowly.

5. James is a punk.
    a. James is a troublemaker.
    b. James is a young child.
    c. James acts like a young child.
    d. James is a homosexual.

6. The Jones' just bought a new hog.
    a. The Jones' bought a new animal for the farm.
    b. The Jones' bought a new car.
    c. The Jones' bought a new Cadillac.
    d. The Jones' bought a new house.

7. James is a short, bright person.
    a. James is short and has a light skin color.
    b. James is short and intelligent.
    c. James is short and cheerful.
    d. James is short and fat.

8. Don't roll your eyes at me!
    a. Don't let your mind wonder when talking to me!
    b. Don't flirt with me!
    c. Don't let your eyes go crossed when talking to me!
    d. Don't be disrespectful to me!

9. James is color struck.
    a. James likes sparkling colors.
    b. James likes light skinned persons.
    c. James is color blind.
    d. James can't stand the bright sun.

10. Curtis was hitting on Edna.
    a. Curtis was flirting with Edna.
    b. Curtis was beating Edna.
    c. Curtis was lying to Edna.
    d. Curtis was teasing Edna.

11. Linda has an attitude about Gene.
    a. Linda likes Gene.
    b. Linda is angry at Gene.
    c. Linda is nice to Gene.
    d. Linda knows what she thinks about Gene.

12. Mrs. Johnson blessed out Dolores.
    a. Mrs. Johnson blessed Dolores.
    b. Mrs. Johnson prayed for Dolores.
    c. Mrs. Johnson liked to pick on Dolores.
    d. Mrs. Johnson scolded Dolores.

13. Richard was a pimp for the teacher.
    a. Richard was taking orders for the teacher.
    b. Richard was an errand boy for the teacher
    c. Richard told the teacher everything the children did.
    d. Richard did whatever the teacher wanted.

14. Melvin had tight jaws.
    a. Melvin had a thin face.
    b. Melvin was very quiet.
    c. Melvin was angry.
    d. Melvin had the mumps.

15. Eileen is a fox.
    a. Eileen is very nice looking.
    b. Eileen is very sneaky.
    c. Eileen has a bad temper.
    d. Eileen acts like an animal.

16. Don't poke your mouth out at me!
    a. Don't laugh!
    b. Don't cry!
    c. Don't be mad!
    d. Don't be surprised!

17. It's boocoo candy in the box.
    a. There's good candy in the box.
    b. There's chocolate candy in the box.
    c. There's a lot of candy in the box
    d. There's no candy in the box.

18. It's time for the haints.
    a. It's time for saying no.
    b. It's time for the ghosts to be out.
    c. It's time for visiting.
    d. It's time for going to church.

19. The hawk is out today.
    a. It's a cold, windy day.
    b. It's a beautiful day.
    c. Be careful today!
    d. It's your lucky day.

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DIALECT ANALYSIS: PHONOLOGY

Identify the words in which the speaker uses Black English phonological rules. Indicate how the sound or sounds of the word differ from Standard English pronunciation rules. Write the sound or letter used by the speaker above the letter in the word. If you know the phonetic alphabelt use phonetics. Otherwise, use the letters of the regular alphabet.

SPEECH SAMPLE

You learn how to present a piece of business, discuss it, modify it, propose it, and so on. You learn how meetings are run and how you can protect your rights and privileges in them. You will not learn all of the rules, but you will learn all of the procedures that most anyone will need to know to participate in the difficult meeting following the rules.

SENTENCES FROM THE TEMPLIN-DARLEY TEST OF ARTICULATION

3. Ruth picked a rose.

7. Thank you a thousand times.

8. Something is better than nothing.

9. Both children need a bath.

10. They are going there.

11. Although I called her, she wasn't there.

12. Bathe your skin until it's smoothe.

89. This ladder was used in the murder.

90. An all-day sucker is much thicker.

91. This car is bigger and much longer.

92. She would rather take her mother.

103. Two of the blocks were dark blue.

104. Most people enjoy an apple.

105. He's too feeble to move the table.

106. The bottle is much too little.

107. His buckle caught on the bicycle.

108. Don't try to wriggle out of it.

113. That dog is part wolf.

116. He was lost in the mist.

117. What risk is involved in the task.

121. It's the only lamp in the whole camp.

122. I can't find your present.

123. We'll spend the day lying on the sand.

124. He's very exact about each fact.

125. I hoped he hadn't overslept.

126. She left my mother a gift.

Sociolinguistic Issues in Assessment
FROM: WISC

GENERAL COMPREHENSION

Directions Read each question to the Subject. Sometimes Subjects find it difficult to remember the entire question. It is, therefore, always permissible to repeat the question. It is good practice to repeat the question if no response is obtained after ten or fifteen seconds, but no alteration or abbreviation is permitted. It may be necessary to encourage the Subject by such remarks as Yes or Go ahead. If the response is not clear Please explain further, or Tell me more about it, may be added.

Discontinue 3 consecutive failures (responses scored 0).

Scoring Each item is scored 2, 1 or 0. See Appendix A for specific scoring criteria and sample answers.

Maximum score: 28 points.

TEST QUESTIONS

1. What is the thing to do when you cut your finger?
2. What is the thing to do if you lose one of your friend's balls (dolls)?[1]
3. What would you do if you were sent to buy a loaf of bread and the grocer said he did not have any more?
4. What is the thing to do if a fellow (girl) much smaller than yourself starts to fight with you?
5. What should you do if you see a train approaching a broken track?
6. Why is it better to build a house of brick than of wood?
7. Why are criminals locked up?
8. Why should women and children be saved first in a shipwreck?
9. Why is it better to pay bills by check than by cash?
10. Why is it generally better to give money to an organized charity than to a street beggar?
11. Why should most government positions be filled through examinations?
12. Why is cotton fiber used in making cloth?
13. Why do we elect (or need to have) senators and congressmen?
14. Why should a promise be kept?

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[1] Optional alternate wording. What is the thing to do if you lose a ball (doll) that belongs to one of your friends?

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Table 1

ITPA Grammatical Closure Subtest with Comparison of "Correct" Responses and Appalachian and Vernacular Black English Alternant Forms

	Stimulus with "Correct" Item According to ITPA Test Manual (Items considered to be "correct" according to the procedures for scoring are italicized.)	Appalachian English Alternant	Vernacular Black English Alternant
1.	Here is a dog. Here are two *dogs/doggies.*		dog
2.	This cat is under the chair. Where is the cat? She is *on/*(any preposition—other than "under"—indicating location).		
3.	Each child has a ball. This is hers, and this is *his.*	his'n	
4.	This dog likes to bark. Here he is *barking.*		
5.	Here is a dress. Here are two *dresses.*		dress
6.	The boy is opening the gate. Here the gate has been *opened.*		open
7.	There is milk in this glass. It is a glass *of/with/for/o'/lots of milk.*		
8.	This bicycle belongs to John. Whose bicycle is it? It is *John's.*		John
9.	This boy is writing something. This is what he *wrote/has written/did write.*	writed/writ has wrote	writed/wrote
10.	This is the man's home, and this is where he works. Here he is going to work, and here he is going *home/back home/to his home.*	at home	
11.	Here it is night, and here it is morning. He goes to work first thing in the morning, and he goes home first thing *at night.*	of the night	
12.	This man is painting. He is a *painter/fence painter.*	a-paintin'	
13.	The boy is going to *eat* all the cookies. Now all the cookies have been *eaten.*	eat/ate/eated/et	ate
14.	He wanted another cookie, but there weren't *any/any more.*	none/no more	none/no more
15.	This horse is not big. This horse is big. This horse is even *bigger.*	more bigger	more bigger
16.	And this horse is the very *biggest.*	most biggest	most biggest
17.	Here is a man. Here are two *men/gentlemen.*	mans/mens	mans/mens
18.	This man is planting a tree. Here the tree has been *planted.*		
19.	This is soap, and these are *soap/bars of soap/more soap.*	soaps	soaps
20.	This child has lots of blocks. This child has even *more.*		
21.	And this child has the *most.*	mostest	mostest
22.	Here is a foot. Here are two *feet.*	foots/feets	foots/feets
23.	Here is a sheep. Here are lots of *sheep.*	sheeps	sheeps
24.	This cookie is not very good. This cookie is good. This cookie is even *better.*	gooder	gooder
25.	And this cookie is the very *best.*	bestest	
26.	This man is hanging the picture. Here the picture has been *hung.*	hanged	hanged
27.	The thief is stealing the jewels. These are the jewels that he *stole.*	stoled/stealed	stoled/stealed
28.	Here is a woman. Here are two *women.*	womans/womens	womans/womens
29.	The boy had two bananas. He gave one away and he kept one for *himself.*	hisself	hisself
30.	Here is a leaf. Here are two *leaves.*	leafs	leafs
31.	Here is a child. Here are three *children.*	childrens	childrens
32.	Here is a mouse. Here are two *mice.*	mouses	mouses
33.	These children all fell down. He hurt himself, and she hurt herself. They all hurt *themselves.*	theirselves/theirself	theirselves/theyselves theirself/theyself

By:
Wolfram, Walt, Beyond Black English: Implications of the Ann Arbor Decision for Other Non-Mainstream Varieties. In Reactions to Ann Arbor: Vernacular Black English and Education (Marcia F. Whiteman, Ed.), Center for Applied Linguistics (1980), p. 21.

Table 2

Results of the Evaluation of Seven Assessment Tools According to Some Proposed Guidelines Based on Linguistic Research

	Language Assessment Tools						
Proposed Guidelines	UTLD	HTLD	PPVT	BLST	GCS	DSS	CFUA
(1) The procedure can account for language variation.	−	−	−	+	+	⊕	⊕
(2) The assumptions about language which underlie the procedure are valid.	−	−	−	−+	+	+	+
(3) The procedure includes an analysis of a spontaneous speech sample (when an oral system is used to communicate).	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(4) The procedure reliably indicates whether a system is developing normally.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+−
(5) The results of the procedure provide principled guidelines for language intervention.	−	−	−	−	−	−+	+
(6) The procedure can provide an adequate description of some aspect of the child's knowledge of language.	−	−	−	−	+	+	+

UTLD:	Utah Test of Language Development
HTLD:	Houston Test of Language Development
BLST:	Bankson Language Screening Test
PPVT:	Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test
DSS:	Developmental Sentence Scoring
CFUA:	Content, Form and Use Analysis
GCS:	Grammatic Closure Subtest of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities
+ −	Some aspects of the test can meet the guideline, others do not.
⊕	The procedure can be adapted to meet this guideline.
−	The procedure cannot meet the guideline.
+	The procedure can meet the guideline.

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By:
Vaughn-Cooke, Fay Boyd, Evaluating the Language of Black English Speakers. In Reactions to Ann Arbor: Vernacular Black English and Education (Marcia F. Whiteman, Ed.), Center for Applied Linguistics (1980), p. 41.

Position Paper

#3

Social Dialects

With the close of the 1970s, this country has seen language rights come to be regarded as civil rights. With court cases such as Larry P. v. Riles and the Ann Arbor Decision, the role of the speech-language pathologist relative to social dialects needed resolution. In 1982, the Legislative Council unanimously approved the position paper on social dialects prepared by the Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities.

The development of such a position paper required an in-depth examination of the controversial social issues that have been debated by many professions over the past two decades. Three different philosophical approaches to social dialects prevailed: 1) no intervention, 2) promotion of bidialectalism, and 3) eradication of nonstandard usage. For two years, the pros and cons of each philosophy were studied by the Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities.

The initial draft of the paper was submitted to selected ASHA members for comment, each chosen on the basis of his or her research or clinical backgrounds or other professional interest in the area of social dialects. Sixty-three percent of those contacted responded, most with cogent comments which reflect the current controversy and the need for direction and resolution on this topic by the Association. From this peer review, the final draft was developed.

The members of the Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities who were instrumental in the completion of the project were: Maureen E. Aldes, Dolores E. Battle (Chair), Lorraine Cole (ex officio), Regina Grantham, Murray Halfond, Gail A. Harris, Nilda Morgenstern-Lopez, Gloria M. Smith, and Sandra L. Terrell. The following individuals are gratefully acknowledged for their contributions to the final draft of the position paper: Sol Adler, M. Parker Anderson, Donn F. Bailey, Nick Bountress, Faye Vaughn-Cooke, Aaron Favors, Algeania Freeman, Sandra Holley, Beatrice Jimenez, John R. Miller, Howard Mims, Joan Payne-Johnson, Nevis Phillips, Altheria C. Scott, Charlena Seymour, Harry Seymour, Ida Stockman, Orlando Taylor, Florence Wiener, Ronald Williams, Gwendolyn Wilson.

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The English language is comprised of many linguistic varieties, such as Black English*, standard English, Appalachian English, southern English, New York dialect, and Spanish influenced English. The features of social dialects are systematic and highly regular and cross all linguistic parameters, i.e., phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, lexicon, pragmatics, suprasegmental features, and kinesics. Although each dialect of English has distinguishing characteristics, the majority of linguistic features of the English language are common to each of the varieties of English. The existence of these varieties is the result of historical and social factors. For example, due to historical factors, the majority of Black English speakers are Black. However, due to social factors, not all Black individuals are Black English speakers.

The issue of social dialects for the field of speech-language pathology is extremely complex as indicated by the continuous controversy across the nation over the past two decades. There has been confusion among professionals regarding the role of the speech-language pathologist with reference to speakers of social dialects. There has been no consistent philosophy regarding the approach of service delivery to speakers of social dialects. As a result, some speech-language pathologists have denied clinical services to speakers of social dialects who have requested services. Other speech-language pathologists have treated social dialects as though they were communicative disorders.

It is the position of the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) that no dialectal variety of English is a disorder or a pathological form of speech or language. Each social dialect is adequate as a functional and effective variety of English. Each serves a communication function as well as a social solidarity function. It maintains the communication network and the social construct of the community of speakers who use it. Furthermore, each is a symbolic representation of the

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*Some Black professionals prefer to use the term Ebonics instead of the more popularly used term Black English. Derived from the words *ebony* and *phonics*, the term Ebonics is intended to avoid the focus on race and emphasize the ethnolinguistic origin and evolution of this variety of the English language.

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historical, social, and cultural background of the speakers. For example, there is strong evidence that many of the features of Black English represent linguistic Africanisms.

However, society has adopted the linguistic idealization model that standard English is the linguistic archetype. Standard English is the linguistic variety used by government, the mass media, business, education, science, and the arts. Therefore, there may be nonstandard English speakers who find it advantageous to have access to the use of standard English.

The traditional role of the speech-language pathologist has been to provide clinical services to the communicatively handicapped. It is indeed possible for dialect speakers to have linguistic disorders within the dialect. An essential step toward making accurate assessments of communicative disorders is to distinguish between those aspects of linguistic variation that represent the diversity of the English language from those that represent speech, language, and hearing disorders. The speech-language pathologist must have certain competencies to distinguish between dialectal differences and communicative disorders. These competencies include knowledge of the particular dialect as a rule-governed linguistic system, knowledge of the phonological and grammatical features of the dialect, and knowledge of nondiscriminatory testing procedures. Once the difference/disorder distinctions have been made, it is the role of the speech-language pathologist to treat only those features or characteristics that are true errors and not attributable to the dialect.

Aside from the traditionally recognized role, the speech-language pathologist may also be available to provide *elective* clinical services to nonstandard English speakers who do not present a disorder. The role of the speech-language pathologist for these individuals is to provide the desired competency in standard English without jeopardizing the integrity of the individual's first dialect. The approach must be functional and based on context-specific appropriateness of the given dialect.

Provision of elective services to nonstandard English speakers requires sensitivity and competency in at least three areas: linguistic features of the dialect, linguistic contrastive analysis procedures, and the effects of attitudes toward dialects. It is prerequisite for the speech-language pathologist to have a thorough understanding and appreciation for the community and culture of the nonstandard English speaker. Further, it is a requirement that the speech-language pathologist have thorough knowledge of the linguistic rules of the particular dialect.

It remains the priority of the speech-language pathologist to continue to serve the truly communicatively handicapped. However, for nonstandard English speakers who seek elective clinical services, the speech-language pathologist may be available to provide such services. The speech-language pathologist may also serve in a consultative role to assist educators in utilizing the features of the nonstandard dialect to facilitate the learning of reading and writing in standard English. Just as competencies are assumed and necessary in the treatment of communicative disorders, competencies are also necessary in the provision of elective clinical services to nonstandard English speakers.

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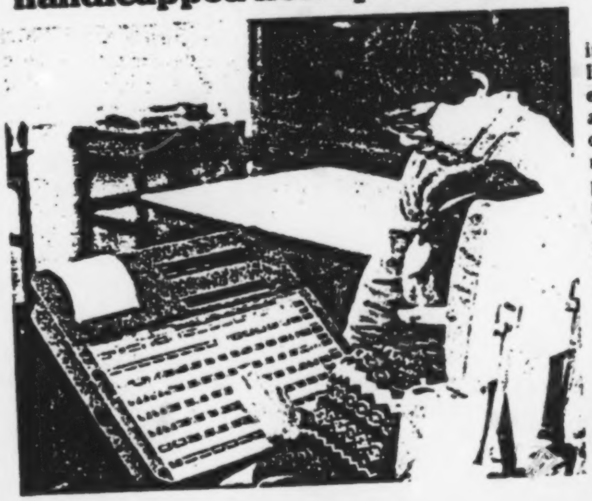

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Implications of the Position on Social Dialects

Lorraine Cole

The ASHA National Office receives numerous inquiries each year on topics pertaining to service to minority populations. One of the functions of the Office of Minority Concerns is to provide technical assistance to members with such inquiries. To clarify the implications of the newly adopted position paper on social dialects, Minority Concerns Director Lorraine Cole responds to the most frequently asked questions.

Q: Does the position paper imply that speech-language pathologists should now actively seek and enroll speakers of nonstandard dialects into their caseloads or practices?

A: Absolutely not. In no way is the Association encouraging mass screening, identification, and enrollment of social dialect speakers for speech or language intervention, "speech improvement," or any other similar training. On the contrary, the position paper clearly states that the priority of the speech-language pathologist continues to be service to the truly communicatively handicapped. Speakers of social dialects are not in that category.

However, it has been the practice of some service programs and service providers routinely to deny service to individuals who have no disorder but who want to acquire competence in standard English. The position of the Association is that an individual who *seeks* such elective clinical service may indeed be served by the speech-language pathologist.

Of course, for the social dialect speaker who exhibits a true speech or language disorder (i.e., features that cannot be attributed to either the nonstandard dialect or standard English), speech or language treatment probably will be indicated.

Q: Social dialects were not included as part of my academic or practicum training in speech-language pathology. How can I prepare myself to serve nonstandard English speakers?

A: You are not alone. The traditional training in speech-language pathology is based on standard American English. Although coursework in sociolinguistics can apply toward certification, such courses are neither required nor widely offered. In an informal review of recent applications for the Certificate of Clinical Competence in Speech-Language Pathology, it was found that only about two in 20 applicants had taken a course in sociolinguistics.

There are no specific course requirements established by ASHA for service to social dialect or minority language populations. However, the position statement does specify recommended areas of competence for assessment, intervention, and the provision of elective services to nonstandard English speakers. To reiterate, they include:

1. knowledge of the particular dialect as a rule-governed linguistic system,
2. knowledge of nondiscriminatory testing procedures,
3. knowledge of the phonological and grammatical features of the dialect,
4. knowledge of contrastive analysis procedures,
5. knowledge of the effects of attitudes toward dialects,
6. thorough understanding and appreciation for the community and culture of the nonstandard speaker.

If courses on social dialects or sociolinguistics are not offered by the training programs in your local area, it is incumbent upon communicative disorders professionals to seek such training through continuing education activities and independent study. The following publications should be helpful:

Dillard, J. L. *Black English: Its History and Usage in America*. New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

Erickson, Joan Good, & Omark, Donald. *Communication Assessment of the Bilingual Bicultural Child: Issues and Guidelines*. Baltimore, Maryland: University Park Press, 1981.

Jeter, Irma K., Editor. *Social Dialects: Differences vs. Disorders*. Rockville, Maryland: American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, 1977.

Omark, Donald, & Erickson, Joan Good. *The Bilingual Exceptional Child*. San Diego: College Hill Press, 1983.

Stockwell, Robert P., Bowen, J., & Martin, J. *The Sounds of English and Spanish*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Stockwell, Robert P., Bowen, J., & Martin, J. *The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish*. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Wolfram, Walt & Fasold, Ralph. *The Study of Social Dialects in American English*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974.

Wolfram, Walt, and Christian, Donna. *Appalachian Speech*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1976.

Q: We are taught that test results are

invalid when the test taker comes from a background other than that of the population on which the test was standardized. Since few tests are designed for dialects other than standard English, how can I do a valid speech and language assessment of a social dialect speaker?

A: It is stressed in the position paper that knowledge of nondiscriminatory testing procedures is required to distinguish between dialect differences and communicative disorders. There are a variety of alternatives to the inappropriate use of tests developed and standardized on standard English speakers. They include: a) developing tests based on local dialect norms, b) testing only those features that are common to both dialects, c) conducting item analysis of tests to identify items that present potential bias against dialect speakers and indicating alternatively acceptable responses, d) utilizing alternative scoring procedures for dialect speakers, e) reporting behavioral responses to test content without reporting scores, and f) relying only on informal judgments of the communication behaviors of the individual.

A detailed description of these alternative approaches is beyond the limitations of the short answer format here. The ASHA Committee on Communication Problems and Behaviors in Urban Populations has been studying the issue of nondiscriminatory testing in preparation for a forthcoming position paper on the subject.

Q: PL 94-142 clearly indicates that elective services cannot be supported by PL 94-142 funds. Therefore, because speech-language pathology and audiology services in the schools are supported by PL 94-142 funds in my state, public school speech-language pathologists cannot provide elective services to normal social dialect speakers.

A: It is true that the regulations do not permit federal funds designated by PL 94-142 to be used for services that are elective or for children who are not handicapped. However, this does not preclude local school districts or state education agencies from allocating funds from other sources to support elective services provided by the speech-language pathologist. In Alaska, for instance, after lobbying efforts by local National Education Association members, dialect usage was given a special designation by the state for service delivery.

Q: Should a speech-language pathologist who uses a nonstandard dialect provide articulation or language therapy to a standard English speaker?

A: There are numerous speech-language pathologists and audiologists who use speech and language characteristics that are indicative of regional and social dialects. At any ASHA convention, for instance, a rich diversity of dialects is readily heard in the hotel lobbies, in committee meetings, from the podia and in the Legislative Council meeting. With the increasing success of minority student recruitment efforts, linguistic diversity within the profession is likely to become even richer.

Perhaps more important than questioning the dialect used by the speech-language pathologist or audiologist are the following questions: Does the individual have the expected level of knowledge in normal and disordered communication? Does the individual have the expected level of diagnostic and therapeutic case management skill? In the clinical setting, is the individual able to model the target phoneme (or allophone), grammatical feature, or other aspect of language which characterizes the client's particular problem? If these questions can be answered affirmatively, then the use of a nonstandard dialect should not be an issue.

In asking the originally posed question, one must be careful that the underlying question is not, "Should a Black, Hispanic, Asian or Indian speech-language pathologist provide speech or language therapy to Whites?" Employment practices that discriminate on the basis of race or national origin could result in serious legal consequences and may be open to questions of ethics.

Q: Does the position paper have implications for our professional role with bilingual populations?

A: Yes, to a limited extent. A bilingual speaker may present a situation that is analogous to a speaker who uses a social dialect. The bilingual speaker may mix the phonological and grammatical rules of the minority language with those of standard English (and/or nonstandard English). Similar to social dialect speakers, bilingual individuals speak English, but may do so with linguistic rules that are different or non-standard. The rules used by the bilingual speaker can be attributed to the rules of the minority language spoken and to the community in which he/she lives.

The position statement has similar implications for bilingual individuals as it does for other nonstandard English speakers. If the bilingual individual *seeks* to acquire a more standard production of English, the speech-language pathologist may provide elective clinical services. However, as stressed in the position statement, a particular knowledge base is required including a thorough understanding of the linguistic rules of *both* languages.

For the bilingual speaker who exhibits a speech or language disorder within his or her dominant language, speech or language intervention would be indicated. It should be stressed, however, that a comprehensive evaluation by a knowledgeable speech-language pathologist is required prior to initiating treatment. Considerations for providing assessment and treatment to the bilingual communicatively handicapped are currently under study by the ASHA Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities.

Q: What is the best age to introduce a second dialect?

A: There are two schools of thought on this. From the critical period hypothesis, we know that children learn language most easily before the age of 12. This is true for second as well as first language. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the learning of a second dialect is easier for the young child than for a youngster in junior high or above.

The other point of view is that intrinsic motivation is the key factor in learning either a second language or dialect. That is, an individual will most easily acquire a second language or dialect if his or her internal motivation to do so is high. For a very young child, the primary socializing agents are the family and peer group.

Language serves a social solidarity function, which is the reason that the eradication approach usually fails. That is, the intrinsically motivating factor of family and peer identity is stronger than the later acquired values of social mobility and social class prestige which are associated with standard English usage. These later developing values become intrinsic motivators around the age of junior high or above.

Further, for the very young child, language is closely tied to self-concept. To imply to a young child that something is wrong with the way he or she talks (which is also the way his or her family talks) implies that something is wrong with that child as a person. It could be argued that there is no justification for devaluing the self-worth of a child—not even if you think it is for his or her "own good in the long run."

The answer to this question is addressed indirectly in the position statement. It is clearly stated that there may be nonstandard English speakers *who find it advantageous* to have access to the use of standard English. Such individuals would have intrinsic motivation to learn standard English and would be the most likely to *seek* the services of the speech-language pathologist. It is this type of individual to which the position statement refers.

Q: I understand the bidialectal philosophy for oral communication. But I am continually confronted by classroom teachers who have difficulty teaching written standard English to nonstandard dialect speakers. Do speech-language pathologists have a responsibility here?

A: Many speakers of nonstandard dialects will apply the phonological and grammatical rules of the dialect to written English. Consequently, there may be dialect interference when learning to write in standard English grammar. There also may be errors in spelling caused by phonological differences and reading may be impeded.

ASHA recognizes the role of the speech-language pathologist as a resource or consultant to the classroom teacher. If the speech-language pathologist has a thorough knowledge of the linguistic rules of the dialect, he/she can assist the classroom teacher in taking the child's dialect into account in instruction. Just as the classroom teacher teaches children to comprehend the numerous irregularities in written English, such as silent letters, phonemes with more than one grapheme, and homophonous pairs, dialect rules and contrasts can also be incorporated into instruction as additional "irregularities" in the English language.

Q: What do you do when there is a true error within the dialect? For example, if a Black English speaker says "I are a boy," there is neither a social dialect rule nor a standard English rule to account for this. Do I teach the Black English grammar *(I is a boy or I a boy)* or do I teach the standard English grammar *(I am a boy)*?

A: There are differing views. Some professionals think that dialect preference should be the individual's (or the parent's) choice. However, if the speech-language pathologist is not a speaker of the nonstandard dialect, he/she may not be able to model the dialect feature with native dialect proficiency. The result could be a violation of sociolinguistic or pragmatic rules.

Other professionals think that when there is an error in the dialect, the standard English feature should be taught. Still others agree that in such instances, the standard English feature should be taught, but if the end result is production of the dialect feature, it should be accepted.

The rationale for teaching the standard English version of the particular feature is based on the reality that dialect usage exists on a continuum. The majority of speakers will not use all of the rules of the given dialect. The number and type of features that have a high frequency of occurrence may vary from speaker to speaker. Therefore, if a speaker has a true error, which is neither attributable to the nonstandard dialect nor to standard English, there is no way to be certain that the speaker would have "naturally" developed use of the nonstandard version of the particular feature.

Q: Does the position paper mean that we now have ASHA's approval to teach English as a second language (ESL)?

A: No. ASHA currently has no position on the role of the speech-language pathologist in teaching English as a second language.

Q: Are there published listings of bidialectal training programs?

A: The ASHA Office of Minority Concerns identified and listed numerous multicultural tests and materials in the September 1981 issue of *Asha*. A supplement to that listing appears in this issue of *Asha*. Unfortunately, only two programs were identified that were described by their authors as bidialectal training programs. A program designed for grades K through 6 was developed for the Kansas City Public Schools by Wilbur Goodseal. The program manual and curriculum guide entitled *Language Program for Inner City Populations* can be obtained by contacting Emogene Lewis, Chapter I Program, Board of Education, Building 1211 McGee, Kansas City, Missouri, 64108. The other program, designed for preschool children, can be found in *Poverty Children and Their Language* by Sol Adler (Grune and Stratton).

Other programs undoubtedly exist. But many multicultural products are either published by small publishers with limited dissemination or unpublished and used by their authors for their local populations. The ASHA Office of Minority Concerns would welcome information about such programs, particularly for older children and adults.

Q: The administration in my school district and most of the classroom teachers firmly believe in the eradication philosophy. They are pressuring me to regard normal nonstandard English differences as if they were speech and language disorders. Being outnumbered, how can I convince them that they are wrong.

A: There is no right or wrong on this very controversial issue. Rather, there are differing opinions. But the opinion of those who believe in eradication is not consistent with the policy of the communicative disorders profession.

The position statement on social dialects represents the official policy of the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association. Thus, there is an official statement that can be brought to the attention of administrators and teachers to support your professional philosophy on this issue.

#3

Improving Language Assessment in Minority Children

Fay Boyd Vaughn-Cooke

Fay Boyd Vaughn-Cooke is an associate professor at the University of the District of Columbia and an affiliate scholar, Center for Applied Linguistics.

In the formal statement of its position on social dialects, the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association asserted that:

> . . . no dialectal variety of English is a disorder or a pathological form of speech or language . . . [however] it is indeed possible for dialect speakers to have linguistic disorders within the dialect. An essential step toward making accurate assessments of communicative disorders is to distinguish between those aspects of linguistic variation that represent the diversity of the English language from those that represent speech, language, and hearing disorders (p. 24, in this issue).

This important position, which was put forth earlier by a number of scholars (Baratz, 1969a, 1969b; Adler 1971; Wolfram, Williams, and Taylor, 1972; Wolfram, 1976; Williams and Wolfram, 1976) requires that speech-language pathologists reconsider what is required to provide an accurate assessment of the language of non-mainstream English speakers. The basic requirements, valid, reliable assessment tools, are the same as those for any other group of speakers. However, the formidable problem for non-mainstream speakers, and the professionals charged with the responsibility of assessing their language, is the absence, in general, of such tools. Commenting on this absence, Terrell and Terrell (1983) noted:

> At present, no widely accepted standardized techniques exist for assessing the linguistic abilities of children and adults who speak what is commonly referred to as nonstandard dialects (p. 6).

In a similar comment, Taylor and Payne (1983) pointed out that:

> Given the present state of the art in speech and language tests, it can be concluded that there are a few, if any, standardized measures that can provide a completely valid and nonbiased evaluation of handicapping conditions for linguistically and culturally diverse populations (p. 9-10).

In yet another recent comment on the problem Mercer (1983) concluded:

> Presently there is no comprehensive system for assessing language disorders in students whose primary language is not [Standard] English (p. 52).

Without appropriate tools, it is impossible to realize fully the assessment goals which evolve naturally from the Association's position. The presentation of the position at this time, however, provides an important opportunity to reflect on the crisis that exists in the area of assessment for non-mainstream speakers. One way to expose and highlight this crisis is to examine and evaluate some proposed alternatives to traditional, inappropriate tests. The following have been presented:

1. Standardize existing tests on non-mainstream English speakers.
2. Include a small percentage of minorities in the standardization sample when developing a test.
3. Modify or revise existing tests in ways that will make them appropriate for non-mainstream speakers.
4. Utilize a language sample when assessing the language of non-mainstream speakers.
5. Utilize criterion-referenced measures when assessing the language of non-mainstream speakers.
6. Refrain from using all standardized tests that have not been corrected for test bias when assessing the language of non-mainstream speakers.
7. Develop a new test which can provide a more appropriate assessment of the language of non-mainstream English speakers.

These alternatives will be discussed and evaluated in turn.

Standardize existing tests on non-mainstream speakers

This alternative has been adopted by a number of researchers (Evard and Sabers, 1979; Evard and McGrady, 1974, and Evard and Sabers, 1974), and it is reflected in a lot of unpublished work in progress. Evard and his associates have standardized the Templin-Darley Tests of Articulation, and the Auditory Association and the Grammatic Closure Subtests of the ITPA on non-mainstream speakers in Arizona. The raw scores were analyzed according to: (1) the norms for standard English speakers, (2) combined norms for four ethnic-racial groups (Anglos, Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Papago Indians) in Arizona, and (3) specific norms for each ethnic-racial group. The results were predictable; the analysis demonstrated successive decreases in the number of children identified as speech-and-language-impaired as the norms became increasingly more specific for each group.

At first glance, standardization of existing tests appears to be a reasonable alternative to inappropriate tests, but close scrutiny of the situation reveals that solving the technical problem of standardizing a test can create some irresolvable substantive problems. The first is low norms. The norms, for example, on the Grammatic Closure Subtest would be much lower for Black non-mainstream speakers than for their standard-English-speaking contemporaries (Wolfram, 1983). Lower norms are a serious shortcoming of this alternative. DeAvila and Havassy (1974) explain why:

> Ethnic norms are potentially dangerous from the social perspective because they provide a basis for invidious comparisons between racial groups. The tendency is to assume that lower scores are indicative of lower potential, thereby contributing to the self-fulfilling prophecy of lower expectations for minority children and reinforcing the genetic-inferiority argument advanced by Arthur Jensen and others (p. 72).

The question that needs to be addressed is: why does the standardization alternative result in lower norms? The answer to this question exposes the second substantive problem, i.e., most standardized language tests, particularly the Grammatic Closure Subtest, are constructed to reveal what a child knows only about standard English. It follows, then, that if speakers are learning standard English in their speech community, they will know a lot (considering age and normal development) and their norms will reflect this, but if speakers are learning non-mainstream varieties, their norms will reflect this fact also. The point is that if a test has been constructed to assess only one dialect of English, then standardizing it on children who speak a different dialect will not make it valid or appropriate. For this reason the standardization alternative is not always a viable one.

Include a small percentage of minorities in the standardization sample when developing a test.

This alternative is closely related to the one above, and it exhibits similar problems. The standardization sample of the ITPA highlights these problems. The ITPA normative sample included 962 children from five midwestern cities, ranging in population from 27,000 to 126,000. The socioeconomic status of the children's families was reported as approximating the distribution in the communities selected and in the nation as a whole. Only about 4% of the children were Black. According to Weiner and Hoock (1973), this was lower than the percentage in the communities selected and obviously lower nationwide. What was accomplished, in terms of validity, by including a small percentage of Blacks in this sample? Nothing, according to Weiner and Hoock (1973). They note:

> . . . there is a question concerning the decision to include a small Black group in the [ITPA] sample. This group is representative of Black children neither in the communities involved nor in the nation as a whole. Just whom these children do represent is unclear. It might have been better not to include them at all, for they simply reduce the extent to which the sample represents the "average" white population. If they were to be included, a carefully drawn independent sample of "average" Black children would need to be collected and compared with the "average" white group. Only then could the test be used with confidence on Black subjects, using the same norms for all "average" children (p. 621).

Weiner and Hoock's (1973) comments point to the inadequacies in this third alternative, which was also adopted in the revised version of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn and Dunn, 1981). Blacks represented only 10% of the 4,200 nationwide standardization sample. A subsample of this type which is not controlled for social class, a critical variable that affects language, contributes nothing to solving the problem of invalid assessment of minority children's language. Speech-language pathologists should be aware of this.

Modify or revise existing tests in ways that will make them appropriate for non-mainstream English speakers.

This alternative was adopted by Nelson (1976) and Hemingway, Montague, and Bradley (1981). The former researcher modified the scoring procedure for Lee's (1974) Developmental Sentence Scoring Technique (DSS). This technique provides a method for analyzing eight categories of standard English grammatical form. These include indefinite pronouns (e.g., *this, that, some, nothing, anything)*, personal pronouns (e.g., *mine, himself, herself, themselves)*, main verbs (e.g., copula forms like *is, are, was)*, secondary verbs (e.g., *to see, to play, running, broken*), negative forms (e.g., *not, are not*), conjunctions (e.g., *and, but, because)*, interrogative reversal question types (e.g., *Does he still have it?)*, and Wh-questions (e.g., *Where is the boy?)*. Data for the DSS analysis consist of a set (50 or more) of complete sentences, i.e., constructions exhibiting a subject and a verb, which are extracted from spontaneous speech samples. Following Lee's (1974) procedure, only standard English responses are scored as correct. Nelson modified the scoring system in an attempt to make the technique appropriate for Black non-mainstream English speakers. The following description indicates how this was done.

> In the development of the BES [Black English Score] chart, two scores were assigned for each BE [Black English] feature. One was a conservative score . . . For example, uninflected verbs such as "have/has" would score "1" instead of "2" as on the DSS chart, but at least they would score. A second, lenient, score was assigned and bracketed, which gave the full DSS credit which would have been earned if the structure had been generated according to SE [standard English] rules. That is . . . [following the lenient scoring] the uninflected verb "have" with third person singular subjects, e.g., "He have a new coat," would score "2."

It is important to note that the conservative scores (the lower scores) were utilized when Nelson (1974) conducted the statistical analysis for her study. According to Nelson, the lower score was used to "avoid over-crediting the Black child for features which are similar to early developing SE [standard English] features" (p. 7).

Any revision which does not provide equal credit for comparable non-mainstream and standard English forms is inadequate. Irrespective of the revisers' intentions, a conservative scoring system can be interpreted negatively, i.e., that non-mainstream forms are not "good" enough to receive full credit, unlike standard English forms. The concept that all dialects are equal must be fully reflected in every aspect of revised versions of traditional tools before they can be viewed as viable alternatives for assessing the speech and/or language of non-mainstream speakers.

Like Nelson, Hemingway, Montague, and Bradley (1981) adopted the revision alternative and provided a modification of the Carrow Elicited Language Inventory (Carrow, 1974) for assessing the language of five- and six-year-old Black speakers. The children were asked to repeat 20 sentences from the original CELI. The goal was to utilize revised requirements that would not penalize speakers if they produced characteristic Black English responses.

This goal is well motivated but in order to achieve it, a thorough knowledge of the structure of Black English is required. Unfortunately, such knowledge is not reflected in the Black English responses that are considered acceptable by Hemingway, Montague, and Bradley. Consider their proposed, acceptable response to item 17 on the modified CELI:

17. If it rains we won't go to the beach.
(original test sentence)
* *Is* it *rain* we won't go to the beach.
(Acceptable Black English sentence, according to Hemingway, et al.)

While research has shown that it is acceptable for a Black English speaker to say *rain* instead of *rains*, there is no evidence to support the contention that such speakers say *is* instead of *if*. The second construction is ungrammatical and unacceptable in Black English. At least eight of the 20 Black English sentences proposed by Hemingway, Montague, and Bradley were unacceptable. It is critical that test modifiers obtain a thorough knowledge of non-mainstream dialects *before* initiating revisions. If this is not done the revised versions of traditional tests will be inadequate and thus unacceptable alternatives for minority speakers.

Utilize a language sample when assessing the language of non-mainstream speakers

This nonstandardized alternative to assessing the language of minority children has been recommended by a number of researchers, including Vaughn-Cooke (1979, 1980), Seymour and Miller-Jones (1981), Shuy and Staton (1982), Reveron (1983), Leonard and Weiss (1983), and Stockman and Vaughn-Cooke (forthcoming). The language sample technique involves collecting a spontaneous speech sample (at least 50 utterances) from a child and conducting an analysis of his or her utterances. The content, structure, and function of the utterances provide some of the crucial evidence needed to determine whether a child's language is developing normally. Language sample analyses play an important role in the assessment of all children's language, but when utilized as an alternative for assessing the language of minority children at least two problems arise.

The first is that language sample analyses cannot provide some of the critical information required to make a diagnosis regarding the normalcy of a child's language. For this reason they must be used in conjunction with appropriate standardized tests which are generally not available for non-mainstream speakers. Leonard, Prutting, Perozzi, and Berkeley (1978) noted, quite correctly, that such tests serve at least one valuable purpose: "They separate the impaired language user from the normal language user" (p. 373). The first step, then, in the assessment process is to administer a norm-referenced test which can separate, validly and reliably, normal language from disordered language. Language sample analyses cannot accomplish this goal. Diagnosticians should be aware of this limitation.

The second reason why language sample analyses are, presently, not acceptable alternatives to the assessment problem is that the results from such analyses must be interpreted within a developmental framework. Such a framework would reveal the sequence of normal language behaviors for specific age levels. This important sequence evolves from indepth studies of the development of language in the normal child. Extensive work has been done which has contributed to a well-documented sequence for young, white middle-class children, but the limited number of language acquisition studies on non-mainstream English speaking children precludes the establishment of a valid developmental sequence. Presently, most of the language behaviors revealed by language sample analyses on non-mainstream speakers must be interpreted according to the sequences established for middle-class white children. This is obviously unacceptable; language sample analyses cannot be viewed as viable alternatives until *after* language development research on non-mainstream children has been expanded.

Utilize criterion-referenced measures when assessing the language of non-mainstream speakers.

This second nonstandardized approach is being recommended as an alternative to inappropriate standardized tests by a growing set of professionals (Drew, 1973; Bailey and Harbin, 1980; Ysseldyke and Regan, 1980; Seymour and Miller-Jones, 1981; Duffy, Salvia, Tucker, and Ysseldyke, 1981; Bergquist, 1982; Taylor and Payne, 1983). Within the context of language assessment, criterion-referenced testing involves specifying the specific linguistic behaviors to be tested and establishing criteria for acceptable responses. A child's responses, however, are not generated for the purpose of comparison with other children's performance. This is the goal of standardized or norm-referenced testing.

Criterion-referenced testing can play an important role in assessment and language intervention, but presently the use of this approach presents one of the problems associated with language sample analyses. There is no valid developmental sequence which can be used to specify which linguistic behaviors should be selected as goals for a particular child. It was noted above that the use of a sequence that has evolved from the study of ethnic and racial groups which are not the same as the child's is unacceptable. Drew's observation is relevant here; he noted:

> Criterion-referenced evaluation is not . . . totally free from bias vulnerability. From the standpoint of minority children's evaluation one must also be concerned with criterion-referenced evaluation, particularly in terms of the external referent criterion. Indeed the criterion referent relates most specifically to an instructional goal. This is desirable since, perhaps for the first time, the link between evaluation and instruction is obvious. One must, however, ask the question "What is the criterion and who specifies the criterion to be attained?" As soon as this question is addressed the possibility of subgroup

advantage or disadvantage becomes evident (p. 327).

The conclusion drawn about criterion-referenced testing is the same as that for language sample analyses: it cannot be viewed as a viable alternative to the assessment problem until *after* language development research on non-mainstream speakers has been expanded.

Refrain from using all standardized tests that have not been corrected for test bias when assessing the language of non-mainstream speakers.

A moratorium on standardized testing has been called by a number of professional organizations and researchers who have debated the assessment issue. The task force on language and communication skills which met at the National Invitational Symposium on the King Decision (also called the Ann Arbor Decision) at Wayne State University recommended that the following tests should not be used in the assessment process for Black English speakers:

> Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Houston Test of Language Development, Utah Test of Language Development, Grammatic Closure Subtest of the ITPA, Developmental Sentence Scoring Technique, Templin Darley Tests of Articulation, Wepman Test of Auditory Discrimination.

Specifically, the task force concluded:

> We . . . call for a moratorium on the use of all of the above tests until new tests are developed and/or revisions made to render such tests appropriate for Black English speakers. Revision should involve expanding the set of acceptable linguistic responses to include Black English structures. Additionally revisions should involve the establishment of test norms for the target population of Black English speakers (Daniel and Scott, 1981, p. 310).

Other calls for a moratorium on the use of standardized tests have come from the NAACP and the Association of Black Psychologists. Duffy, Salvia, Tucker, and Ysseldyke (1981) reported that the NAACP, at its 1974 meeting, called for an end to standardized testing if such tests have not been corrected for cultural bias. According to Duffy et al., a similar position was taken by the Council for Exceptional Children Delegate Assembly at its 1978 international convention. The Association of Black Psychologists also maintained that standardized test should not be used to test minority children. The following position was put forth in Williams (1970):

> The Association of Black Psychologists fully supports those parents who have chosen to defend their rights by refusing to allow their children and themselves to be subjected to achievement, intelligence, aptitude and performance tests which have been and are being used to—A. Label Black people as uneducable. B. Place Black Children in "special" classes and schools . . . (p. 5).

The moratorium alternative is clearly not the solution to the assessment problem and its proponents appear to be aware of this. Their goal is to dramatize the issue and highlight the urgent nature of the situation.

Develop a new test which can provide a more appropriate assessment of the language of non-mainstream speakers.

A number of researchers viewed this proposal as the only solution to the assessment problem (Williams, 1972; Drumwright et al., 1973, and Politzer, Hoover, and Brown, 1974). They invested the time and resources to develop completely new tests.[1] Williams (1972) developed the language-based Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity, Drumwright et al. (1973) constructed the Denver Articulation Screening Exam (DASE), and Politzer, Hoover, and Brown (1974) developed a Test of Proficiency in Black Standard and Nonstandard Speech. Each test will be described briefly and evaluated in turn.

According to Williams (1972) the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity is a culture specific test. The author pointed out that the test is "not intended to be a culture-fair or a culture-common test" (p. 6). The purpose of the test is to assess adolescents' and adults' knowledge of primarily slang terms used by Blacks in various parts of the country. The test constructor reported that the terms were selected from the *Dictionary of Afro-American Slang*, the Word in the *APGA Journal*, friends, and his personal experiences gained from living and working in the Black community. Below is a sample item from the test:

Item 3.
Blood
(a) A vampire
(b) A dependent individual
(c) An injured person
(d) A brother of color

The test taker is instructed to select the correct answer from among the four possibilities. Williams' analysis of test scores obtained by 200 Black and White high school students revealed that the former group's scores were significantly higher than the latter's.

The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity makes an important point, i.e., tests which have been developed to assess specific knowledge exhibited by one cultural group are not appropriate for other cultural groups. The ability to make this point is the only positive feature of the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity. Since the test focuses on slang, a very variable and superficial aspect of a speaker's linguistic system, it provides no means for assessing knowledge of the fundamental components of language (semantic, pragmatics, phonology, syntax). It is important to note that this was not the goal of the test; thus language diagnosticians should not view this tool as an alternative to traditional standardized tests.

Drumwright et al. (1973) maintain that the DASE is an articulation-screening test for economically disadvantaged children. The test, which contains 34 phonemes, was administered to over 1,500 White, Black, and Mexican-American children who ranged in age from 2.6 to 6 years. Each subgroup comprised about one-third of the total population tested, thus the minority standardization sample is one of the largest reported for a language test.

While the DASE solves some problems, standardization in particular, for two groups of non-mainstream speakers, it creates others. The most critical is the failure to provide an assessment of a number of phonemes that are generated by non-mainstream phonological rules. The authors' criteria for selecting the 34 phonemes which were included in the test excluded final /θ/, as in *bath* and final /l/, as in *ball*. Final /θ/ can be replaced by /f/ in the non-mainstream variety spoken by Black children and /l/ can be vocalized (the vowel in the word is then lengthened), which is generally perceived as a deletion. The authors excluded both /θ/ and /l/ from the DASE original list of sounds. The following quote explains why. The authors maintain:

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[1] When this article was going to press, University Park Press announced the publication of another new test (The Screening Kit of Language Development) that is designed to assess the language of Black English speakers. Unfortunately, I was unable to evaluate the test for this editorial.

> Because our aim was an articulation-screening test which would minimize incorrect referrals of economically disadvantaged children, we decided to eliminate from the final analysis any sounds which: (1) were not correctly produced by at least 70% of children in all cultural groups by age six . . . (p. 8).

The above criterion indicates that the authors view only the standard English productions of /θ/ and /l/ as correct. Non-mainstream replacements, /f/ and θ, are considered incorrect. The test constructors noted: "Only 36% of Black children produced the sound [final /θ/] correctly by age six" (p. 8). Regarding /l/, it was reported: "Only 50% of Black children pronounced the sound correctly" (p. 8). The elimination of structures which can be replaced by non-mainstream variants is unacceptable because this can result in the failure to refer a child for language intervention when it is needed. Once a structure is eliminated, deviant productions cannot be documented. For example, if a non-mainstream English speaker said /f/ for final /θ/, his response would be normal; however, if he said /s/ for final /θ/, his response would be deviant. An articulation test must be able to capture this critical distinction. As noted above, test constructors must obtain a detailed description of the language variety to be evaluated before they initiate the development of new tests.

The DASE problems discussed above can be solved if it is revised to account for dialect variation. After revision it could serve as an appropriate screening-articulation tool for Black non-mainstream speakers.

The test of Proficiency in Black Standard and Nonstandard Speech was designed to measure the ability of children to speak both nonstandard and standard English. The test employs a repetition model; subjects are required to repeat 30 sentences, 15 standard and 15 nonstandard. The test was administered to 35 kindergarten children; however, the results were not reported for individual subjects. The proficiency test, though developed for Black children, was not constructed to distinguish between normal and deviant linguistic behavior. For this reason it should not be considered an alternative to traditional standardized tests.

The above discussion of seven alternative approaches for assessing the language of non-mainstream speakers reveals a rather dismal picture. Unfortunately, the picture is accurate. It is not an overstatement to say that a crisis exists in the area of assessment for non-mainstream speakers. Researchers, clinicians, and test developers must intensify their efforts to overcome this crisis and meet the needs of diagnosticians. Diagnosticians do not need more evaluations of the assessment problem, nor do they need more "interim" solutions. They need valid, reliable assessment tools. It is hoped that the restatement of assessment principles in ASHA's position paper on social dialects will provide a new surge of energy which can be utilized to meet this need.

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Prepared By: Walt Wolfram, Ph.D.
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Handout: Predicted Dialect Interference in Some Language Development Tests

NSST

1. a The baby is sleeping.

D.V. The baby sleeping.
The baby, he sleeping.

b The baby is not sleeping.

D.V. The baby not sleeping.
The baby ain't sleeping.
The baby, he not/ain't sleeping.

2. a The dog is on the box.

D.V. The dog on the box.
The dog, he on the box.

b The dog is in the box.

D.V. The dog in the box.
The dog, he in the box.

3. a She sees the car.

D.V. She see the car.
Her see the car.

b He sees the car.

D.V. He see the car.
Him see the car.

4. a The cat is behind the desk.

D.V. The cat behind the desk.
The cat, he (be)hind the desk.

b The cat is under the desk.

D.V. The cat under the desk.
The cat, he/it under the desk.

5. a The boy pulls the girl.

D.V. The boy pull the girl.
The boy, he pull the girl.

b The girl pulls the boy.

D.V. The girl pull the boy.
The girl, she pull the boy.

6. a The fish is swimming.

D.V. The fish swimming.

b The fish are swimming.

D.V. The fish swimming.
The fishes swimming.
The fish/es is swimming.

7. a The girl sees the dog.

D.V. The girl see the dog.
The girl, she see the dog.

b The girl sees the dogs.

D.V. The girl see the dogs.
The girl see the dog.
The girl, she see the dog/dogs.

8. a This is their wagon.

D.V. This their wagon.
This they wagon.
Here go the wagon.

b This is his wagon.

D.V. This his wagon.
This he wagon.
Here go the wagon.

9. a The cats play.

D.V. The cat play.

b The cat plays.

D.V. The cat play.
The cat playing.

10. a Mother says, "Where is that boy?"

D.V. Mother say, "Where that boy/at?"
Mother, she say, "Where that boy/at?"
Mother say, "Where that boy is?"

b Mother says, "Who is that boy?"

D.V. Mother say, "Who that boy?"
Mother say."Who that boy is?"
Mother, she say....

11. a The boy washes himself.

D.V. The boy wash hisself.
The boy washing himself/hisself.
The boy, he washing himself/hisself.

b The boy washes the shelf.

D.V. The boy wash the shelf.
The boy, he wash the shelf.

12. a This is my dog.

D.V. This my dog.
This here my dog.
Here go my dog.

b That is my dog.

D.V. That my dog.
Tha's my dog.
Here go my dog.

13. a The car is in the garage.
D.V. The car in the garage?

b Is the car in the garage?
D.V. The car in the garage? (With question intonation).

14. a The boy will throw.
D.V. The boy gonna throw.
The boy throw.

b The boy is throwing.
D.V. The boy throwing.
The boy, he throwing.

15. a The boy jumped.
D.V. The boy jump.
The boy, he jump.

b The boy jumps.
D.V. The boy jump.
The boy, he jump.

16. a Mother says, "Look who I found."
D.V. Mother say,"Lookit who I found."
Mother, she say, "Look who I found."

b Mother says, "Look what I found."
D.V. Mother say, "Look/it what I found."
Mother, she say, "Look/it what I found."

17. a Has the boy found his ball?
D.V. The boy find/found the/his ball?
Is the boy find/found the/his ball?

b The boy has found his ball.
D.V. The boy found the/his ball.
The boy, he found his/the ball.

18. a This is a baby doll.

    D.V. This a baby doll.

    b This is baby's doll.

    D.V. This baby doll.

19. a The boy is pulled by the girl.

    D.V. The boy pull by the girl.

    b The girl is pulled by the boy.

    D.V. The girl pull by the boy.

20. a The man brings the girl the boy.

    D.V. The man bring the girl the boy.
    The man bring the girl to the boy.
    The man, he bring/bringing ...

    b The man brings the boy the girl.

    D.V. The man bring the boy the girl.
    The man bring the boy to the girl.

Templin-Darley Tests of Articulation

Word	Phonetic Symbol	Dialect Variation
pin	[I]	[I/ɛ]
bird*	[ɨr]	[ɨ]
car	[r]	[ə]
pie	[aI]	[a]
boy	[ɔI]	[ɔ]
drum	[m]	[ə̃]
spoon	[n]	[ũ]
tub	[b]	[p]
slide	[d]	[t]
dog	[g]	[k]
arrow*	[r]	[ø]
bell	[l]	[U]
stove	[v]	[b]
thumb*, bathtub*, teeth*	[θ]	[t], [f], [f]
there*, feather*, smooth*	[ð]	[d], [v], [v]
wheel, white	[hw]	[w]
three*	[θr-]	[tr]
hammer	[-mr]	[mɜ]
dinner	[-nr]	[nə]
paper	[-pr]	[pə]
rubber	[-br]	[bə]
doctor	[-tr]	[tə]
ladder	[-dr]	[də]
cracker	[-kr]	[kə]
tiger	[-gr]	[gə]
gopher	[-fr]	[fə]
mother	[-ðr]	[ðə]

Word	Phonetic Symbol	Dialect Variation
washer	[-šr]	[šə]
arm	[-rm]	[əm]
horn	[-rn]	[ən]
sharp	[-rp]	[əp]
curb	[-rb]	[əb]
heart	[-rt]	[ət]
card	[-rd]	[əd]
fork	[-rk]	[ək]
iceberg	[-rg]	[əg]
scarf	[-rf]	[əf]
fourth	[-rθ]	[əf]
porch	[-rtš]	[ətš]
large	[-rdž]	[ədž]
apple	[-pl̩]	[pU]
table	[-bl̩]	[bU]
bottle	[-tl̩]	[tU]
buckle	[-kl̩]	[kU]
eagle	[-gl̩]	[gU]
ruffle	[-fl̩]	[fU]
whistle	[-sl̩]	[sU]
wolf	[-lf]	[Uf]
health	[-lθ]	[Uf]
nails	[-lz]	[Uz]
wasp	[-sp]	[s]
nest	[-st]	[s]
mask	[-sk]	[s]
sister	[-str]	[stə]
whisker	[-skr]	[skə]
December	[-mbr]	[mbə]
first	[-ɪrst]	[əs]
sprinkle	[-ŋkl̩]	[ŋkU]
triangle	[ŋgl̩]	[ŋgU]

Word	Phonetic Symbol	Dialect Variation
twelfth	[-lfθ]	[Uf]
caged	[-džd]	[dž]
hand	[-nd]	[n]
locked	[-kt]	[k]
stopped	[-pt]	[p]
left	[-ft]	[f]
string*	[str-]	[skr]
fixed	[-kst]	[ks]
jumped	[-mpt]	[mp]
month	[-ntθ]	[nt]

Goldman-Fristoe Test of Articulation

Sounds-in-Words Subtest

		Dialect Variation
Plate 4	gun	[gə̃]
Plate 7	wagon...wheel	[wægɜn wil]
Plate 10	scissors	[sIzə]
Plate 15	shovel	[šɔbl]
Plate 16	car	[ka^ə]
Plate 20	feather	[fɛvə]
Plate 21	pencils...this or that	[dIs], [dæt]
Plate 22	carrot...orange	[kæ ət]
Plate 23	bathtub...bath	[bæ ftə:p] [bæ f] or [bæt]
Plate 24	Thumb...finger...ring	[təm]
Plate 34	sleeping...bed	[bɛ:t]
Plate 35	stove	[stob]

Sounds-in-Sentences Subtest

		Dialect Variation
Plate 36	Jerry	[ǰɛ^{ə}i]
	ball	[bɔ^U]
Plate 37	bath	[bæf]
Plate 38	toothpaste	[tufpes]
Plate 42	dog	[dɔ:k]
Plate 43	four	[fɔ^ə]
	five	[fæ]
	thirteen	[tI^{ə}tin]
	they	[de]
Plate 44	mother	[məvə] or [mədɔ]

McDonald Screening Deep Test of Articulation

Item	Word		Phonetic Symbol	Dialect Variation
2	ball	chain	bɔ[l] [tš]en	[U] [tš]
6	chair	sun	[tš]ɛ[r] [s]ən	[tš] [ə] [s]
9	star	thumb	[s][t]a[r] [θ]əm	[s] [t] [ə] [t]
10	horse	key	hɔ[r][s] [k]i	[ə] [s] [k]
12	ear	bell	i[r] bɛ[l]	[ə] [U]
13	tree	thumb	[t][r]i [θ]əm	[t] [r] [t]
14	teeth	lock	[t]i[θ] [l]ɑ[k]	[t] [f] [l] [k]
15	tooth	brush	[t]u[θ] b[r]ə[š]	[t] [f] [r] [š]
16	knife	spoon	nai[f] [s]pun	[s] [s]
17	leaf	chair	[l]i[f] [tš]ɛ[r]	[l] [f] [tš] [ə]
18	glove	thumb	g[l]əv [θ]əm	[l] [t]
21	mouth	tie	maʊ[θ] [t]aI	[f] [t]
22	watch	fork	wɔ[tš] [f]ɔ[r][k]	[tš] [f] [ə] [k]
23	fish	tooth	[f]I[š] [t]u[θ]	[f] [š] [t] [f]
28	thumb	saw	[θ]əm [s]ɔ	[t] [s]
29	saw	teeth	[s]ɔ [t]i[θ]	[s] [t] [f]
31	mouth	match	maʊ[θ] mæ[tš]	[f] [tš]

Wepman Auditory Discrimination Test

FORM I

Items	Interdialectal Homophony
18. dim din	[dĨ]
24. bum bomb	[bə/ɑm]
25. clothe clove	[klov]
26. sheaf sheath	[šif]
40. pin pen	[pI/ɛn]

FORM II

20. fret threat	[frɛt]
22. bum bun	[bə̃]
23. lave lathe	[lev]
36. wreath reef	[rif]

O. L. Taylor

Some Possible Dialectal Biases in the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test for Speakers of Black English

Scoring Key: * = Bias is primarily linguistic

* 1. Concept probably familiar, S may use a different word for it
2. Concept probably familiar, S probably has no word for it
* 3. Concept probably familiar, word probably familiar, but possibly not recognized by S because of different pronunciation (includes differences in segmental or suprasegmental phonological features).
4. Concept probably familiar, but picture may be ambiguous or inappropriate for the S.
* 5. Concept contained in the test is probably unfamiliar, word may be familiar but used in way different from that of the test.
6. Both the concept and the word could be unfamiliar to S.
7. No obvious conceptual or linguistic bias

(Each item equals approximately 2-3 months of mental age. Ten year old Ss need to obtain raw score of 75 to be at age level.)

Item	Scoring
1. table	7
2. bus	7,4
3. horse	3
4. dog	7
5. ball	7
6. finger	3,4
7. boat	4
8. children	4 (could also be #3)
9. bell	4
10. turtle	7
11. climbing	4
12. lamp	7
13. sitting	7
14. jacket	7
15. pulling	4 (could also be #3)
16. ring	3
17. nail	7
18. hitting	7
19. tire	7
20. ladder	7
21. snake	7
22. river	7
23. ringing	7
24. baking	1 (cooking)
25. cone	7
26. engineer	1 (train man, driver)
27. pecking	3
28. kite	7
29. rat	7
30. time	7
31. sail	4 (could also be #1)
32. ambulance	3
33. trunk	7
34. skiing	6
35. hook	5
36. tweezers	7
37. wasp	3,4 (could also be #1)
38. barber	7
39. parachute	7
40. saddle	7
41. temperature	7
42. captain	4 (could also be #2 or #3)
43. whale	6
44. cash	7
45. balancing	4 (could also be #3)

	Item	Scoring
46.	cobweb	7
47.	pledging	7
48.	argument	1 (arguing)
49.	hydrant	7
50.	binocular	1 (spy glasses)
51.	locomotive	1 (engine, train)
52.	hive	6
53.	reel	7
54.	insect	1 (bug)
55.	gnawing	1 (biting)
56.	weapon	1 (gun)
57.	bannister	4 (could also be #1)
58.	idol	1 (statue)
59.	globe	1 (world)
60.	walrus	6
61.	filing	6
62.	shears	1 (scissors)
63.	horror	1 (scared)
64.	chef	1 (cook)
65.	harvesting	7
66.	construction	1 (building)
67.	observatory	6
68.	assistance	1 (help)
69.	erecting	1 (building)
70.	thoroughbred	6
71.	casserole	6
72.	ornament	1 (jewelry)
73.	cobbler	1 (shoeman)
74.	autumn	1 (fall)
75.	dissatisfaction	4 (could also be #4)
76.	scholar	1 (student)

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EXTERNAL DISCRIMINATION BEHAVIOR AS RELATED TO BLACK ENGLISH GRAMMATICAL VARIANTS

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SUMMARY

A position paper on social dialects adopted by the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) approves the delivery of clinical services to persons who do not have a speech or language disorder but who elect to learn Standard English (SE) (Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities, 1983). Specifically, the position paper states that "The role of the speech-language pathologist for these individuals is to provide the desired competency in standard English without jeopardizing the integrity of the individual's first dialect." Thus, the ASHA position paper directs clinicians to use the bi-dialectal model in the delivery of services to this population. The integrity of the first dialect is to be maintained because it is assumed that parameters of the Nonstandard English (NSE) dialect are strongly related to factors of group identification, group cohesion and group solidarity. This study challenges the validity of this assumption as related to the teaching of SE grammar to speakers who use certain elements of Black English (BE) grammar.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the use of fluctuating variants of four grammatical forms and the ability of BE speakers to discriminate between those variants in response to an externally presented discrimination test. We sought to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent do the subjects fluctuate between SE and BE variants of the grammatical forms under investigation?
2. Is there a statistically significant correlation between the percentage of use of the BE dialectal variant of a grammatical form and the ability to discriminate between the SE and the BE dialectal variant of that form?

Seventy-six Black males between the ages of 15:8 and 23:5 years were selected who used a minimum of three BE responses to a 16-item sentence completion test of four grammatical forms. A sample of conversational speech was elicited and tape recorded. The percentage of BE was ascertained for each grammatical form on both the sentence completion test and spontaneous conversation. The subjects were asked to discriminate between 48 pairs of sentences which tested their ability to recognize contrasts between the SE and BE variants of the four grammatical forms. There were 12 pairs for each of the four grammatical forms. Subjects were to indicate whether the tape recorded pairs of sentences were the same or different. The following are samples of the pairs and a list of the

four grammatical forms under investigation.

1. Verb-subject agreement third person singular
    a. She come up here every day. (BE)
    b. She comes up here every day. (SE)
2. Negative concord
    a. He couldn't see nobody. (BE)
    b. He couldn't see anybody. (SE)
3. Possessive suffix
    a. It's Joe's book. (SE)
    b. It's Joe book. (BE)
4. Continuative be
    a. He's always at work on Fridays. (SE)
    b. He always be at work on Fridays. (BE)

Summary of Results

1. Seventy-four of the subjects used fluctuating variants on at least three of the four grammatical forms and all of the subjects fluctuated between the use of BE and SE variants on at least two of the forms. The exception was the continuative be form. The subjects who used the BE form of continuative be tended to use the BE variant exclusively.
2. A statistically significant negative correlation was found between the percentage of use of BE and discrimination scores on the verb-subject agreement form for conversation and the sentence completion test. These correlations were significant at the .01 level of confidence. A statistically significant negative correlation was found between percentage of BE in response to the sentence completion test and discriminationscores for the possessive form at the .05 level of confidence. No other significant correlations were found.

Table 1. Correlations between percentage of BE variants and ability to discriminate between BE and SE dialect variants.

Grammatical Form	Spontaneous Conversation	Sentence Completion Test
Verb-subject Agreement	*$r = -0.2959$, $p < .01$	*$r = -0.4520$, $p < .01$
Negative Concord	$r = 0.0062$	$r = -0.0315$
Possessive Suffix	$r = -0.0266$	*$r = -0.2182$, $p < .05$
Continuative be	$r = -0.1346$	$r = -0.1494$

* Statistically signification correlations

Conclusions

For verb-subject agreement, negative concord and possessive suffix forms the subjects of this study were already using the SE dialect variant much of the time since they fluctuated between SE and BE variants. Findings with respect to verb-subject agreement and possessive suffix indicate that subjects who tend to use a higher percentage of

BE variants tend to fail to notice the differences between the SE and the BE dialectal variants. Since BE speakers are already using SE variants of some grammatical forms, there are probably no negative consequences to the eradication of the BE variant of these grammatical forms. While the findings are not conclusive the fact that BE speakers often do not recognize the differences between SE and BE variants argues against the notion that BE grammatical variants categorically serve as factors of group solidarity and group cohesion. The need for a bi-dialectal approach to second dialect teaching should be reconsidered.

Reference

Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities. (1983). Social dialects: position paper. ASHA, 25, 9, 23-24.

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CONGRUITY AND PREDICTABILITY BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF NONSTANDARD DIALECT USAGE ON FOUR GRAMMATICAL FORMS

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This study investigated whether Nonstandard English (NSE) dialect responses to an examiner-constructed sentence completion test were congruent with and predictive of use of NSE during spontaneous conversation. The sentence completion test was designed to evoke either NSE or Standard English (SE) dialect variants of four grammatical forms for which the NSE dialect variants are highly stigmatized. The 76 Black male subjects were between the ages of 15:8 and 23:5 years. The grammatical forms assessed were verb-subject agreement third person singular, negative concord, possessive suffix, and continuative *be*. A low but statistically significant correlation was found between the percentage of NSE usage on the test and during conversation when all four grammatical forms were combined ($r = .2344$, $p < .05$). Only the possessive suffix form showed a statistically significant correlation between the two measures when correlations were computed for individual grammatical forms ($r = .4341$, $p < .05$). Thus, congruency was interpreted to be highly variable and dependent on the particular grammatical form. To measure predictability, data were inspected for each grammatical form to determine the percentage of subjects who used at least one NSE dialect variant for sentence completion test items when at least one NSE variant of that form occurred during spontaneous conversation. Responses to the sentence completion test were predictive of NSE during conversation for more than 90% of the subjects only for the negative concord grammatical form. It was concluded that the sentence completion test is satisfactorily congruent with and predictive of patterns of dialect used in spontaneous conversation only for certain specific grammatical forms. Some possible reasons for these variable results and their implications for second dialect assessment are offered.

A position paper on social dialects adopted by the Legislative Council of the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) states that "aside from the traditionally recognized role, the speech-language pathologist may also be available to provide elective clinical services to nonstandard English speakers who do not present a disorder" (Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities, 1983, p. 24). Consequently, some new and different questions concerning the assessment of oral language patterns of nonstandard dialect speakers are in order.

In assessing speakers of nonmainstream dialects, writers have questioned whether certain testing instruments provide valid measures of the linguistic disorders of such speakers (e.g., Vaughn-Cooke, 1980; Weiner, Lewnau, & Erway, 1983; Wolfram, 1980). On the other hand, assessment for deciding which Standard English (SE) rules should be taught to speakers electing to gain competency in SE merely requires a description of the difference between the Nonstandard English (NSE) dialect variant and the SE dialect variant of the linguistic form being assessed. This approach to the assessment of the speech of NSE speakers who elect to gain control of SE dialect features is consistent with the ASHA position that "no dialectal variety of English is a disorder or a pathological variety of speech or language" and that "each social dialect is adequate as a functional and effective variety of English" (Committee on the Status of Racial Minorities, 1983, p. 23). However, there is a need to identify the most effective methods of assessing those NSE dialect variants that are socially significant because they are highly stigmatized (Wolfram, 1970).

The many formally constructed tests available for assessing communication disorders are assumed to yield results that are congruent with spontaneous conversational speech. Thus, it is often assumed, perhaps wrongly, that the score or the descriptive results of such tests are valid and reliable representations of the speakers' conversational utterances (Fujiki & Willbrand, 1982). Structured tests are assumed to be more efficient and less cumbersome than assessment of spontaneous conversation because they take less time to administer and analyze. They are also capable of ensuring that linguistic features that should be tested are actually emitted. But the dynamic factors related to social dialect differences may operate to lower the level of congruity between structured tests and spontaneous conversation.

There is evidence that congruity does not always exist between structured test results and spontaneous conversation among speakers with speech and language disorders. Johnson, Winney, and Pederson (1980) compared the number and type of errors made by children with articulation defects under conditions of picture-evoked single word responses and spontaneous connected speech testing. They found that connected speech yielded a significantly greater number of errors as well as more types of errors. They concluded that their results raised serious questions about the validity of traditional single word articulation tests. Fujiki and Willbrand (1982) compared the results of "informal tests" with the results of "spontaneous language sampling" (spontaneous conversation) for language-disordered children from two age groups (4–5 and 6–7 years). They administered examiner-constructed tests of sentence completion, elicited imitation, and grammatical judgment. Correlations between grammatical judgments and other evaluative measures,

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including spontaneous conversation, did not reach statistical significance. Overall or global correlations between sentence completion and spontaneous conversation measures and between measures of elicited imitation and spontaneous conversation were significant but only when total scores on the five language structures under observation were considered together. However, Fujiki and Willbrand found highly variable correlations between these two tests and spontaneous conversation for each of the five independent language structures.

The highly variable responses to individual language structures in the Fujiki and Willbrand study suggest that it would be useful to observe comparisons of each linguistic form when investigating the congruity between constructed tests and spontaneous conversation for the purpose of describing socially significant dialectal differences. Fujiki and Willbrand (1982) concluded that "it is likely that the most effective application of these tools in clinical language evaluation is a combination of spontaneous language sampling and sentence completion or elicited imitation" (p. 48). They cautioned against the use of either sentence completion or elicited imitation without the benefit of spontaneous language sampling.

Studies such as the ones cited above (see also Prutting, Gallagher, & Mulac, 1975) prompted us to seek empirical data related to the question of whether structured test results are congruent with conversational speech with respect to assessment of dialect differences. Because the assessment of dialect differences does not involve a speech or language disorder but rather a description of points of difference between two legitimate dialects of English, it is not known whether the incongruities between testing protocols found in speech- and language-disordered populations would obtain.

Tests designed to assess dialect differences must take into account the common tendency for many NSE speakers to fluctuate between the use of standard and nonstandard variants of a single linguistic form. This reality of fluctuating variants has prompted Wolfram to comment on the generally noncategorical nature of social dialects.

> Perhaps the most significant contribution of sociolinguistic studies in the last few years has been the discovery that various social dialects in the United States are differentiated from each other not only by discrete sets of features but also by variations in the frequencies in which certain features or rules occur. Studies . . . clearly indicate that differentiation of dialects cannot be indicated by simple categorical statements; instead, dialects are more typically quantitatively distinguished. (Wolfram, 1974, p. 46)

The quantitative nature of social dialects is illustrated by the example of the speaker who in spontaneous conversation uses the NSE dialect variant of the possessive suffix form 75% of the time and the SE dialect variant of this linguistic form 25% of the time. The NSE variant typical of the Black American English (BAE) speaker would be *his brother book* instead of the SE variant, *his brother's book*. Kachuk (1978) and Labov (1969) have also called attention to the fluctuating nature of social dialects, which can result in a single speaker using the SE variant *he lives here* and then saying *he live here* on another occasion. These observations concerning the quantitative nature of dialect variability indicate the need to express the presence or absence of a particular variant in terms of a numerical proportion. Obviously, a categorical statement that the speaker speaks either SE or NSE will be misleading.

The presence of such variability does not necessarily mean that the NSE speaker is aware of such fluctuations, nor does the fluctuation between dialectal variants suggest that the speaker has the ability to consciously control one or the other variant. Wolfram (1974) noted that such fluctuations can occur while the social context is held constant and that we cannot account for many of these fluctuations by observing contextual linguistic constraints. Perhaps the social contacts the speakers have with the two patterns of dialect are responsible for some of the fluctuating variants. No matter what the cause or causes of the variations, the presence of even a small percentage of a NSE variant may be of concern to some speakers who may wish to be able to use only the SE variant during a particular social encounter. Such speakers are not truly bidialectal if they have no effective control over the use of one or the other variant of a particular linguistic form.

These observations about the variable nature of social dialects underscore the need to report descriptions of dialect differences in terms of the proportion of SE or NSE variants. This would seem to apply both to reports of results of responses to structured tests and to descriptions of spontaneous conversation. The question of congruity between test results and spontaneous conversation would not only deal with whether a particular NSE form was revealed by both methods as being present; there must also be congruity with respect to the proportion of NSE variants used in response to the test and in conversational speech.

This study is concerned with the problems involved in constructing an efficient and valid test instrument for identifying socially stigmatized variants of grammatical forms that would be the targets of second dialect teaching for those persons who elect such a service. We began with the assumption that any formal test fit to identify the significant points of difference between NSE and SE dialects would be valid to the extent that it could evoke dialectal responses that conformed to the speaker's pattern of dialect during spontaneous conversational speech. Based on the spontaneous conversation criterion, we sought to assess the validity of an examiner-constructed sentence completion test of four grammatical forms by examining congruent validity and predictive validity.

We sought answers to the following questions regarding congruent validity and predictive validity:

1. Are responses to a sentence completion test designed to evoke SE or NSE dialect variants of a particular grammatical form congruent with the speaker's use of SE and NSE variants of that form uttered during spontaneous conversation?

2. Is the sentence completion test a valid predictor of

the presence or absence of NSE variants of a particular grammatical form used during spontaneous conversation?

METHOD

Subjects

This study included 76 Black male subjects between the ages of 15:8 and 23:5 years who were selected on the basis of their using NSE grammatical patterns identified by Fasold and Wolfram (1970) and by Williams and Wolfram (1977) as being characteristic of BAE. All subjects except 3 were located in high schools in the metropolitan area of Cleveland, OH. The 3 nonschool subjects were located at a community recreation center; 1 of these 3 (aged 23:5) had left school after the 11th grade, and the other 2 were attending high school. Subjects were selected if they used any combination of at least three BAE dialectal responses when administered a 16-item sentence completion test of four grammatical forms. Therefore, to be selected, subjects could use BAE a minimum of three times on a single grammatical form or a minimum of one response to three different grammatical forms. This criterion was determined arbitrarily. The 16-item examiner-constructed sentence completion test used in this study was designed originally as a means of merely identifying subjects who used NSE variants for one or more of the four linguistic forms being studied. The subjects were then administered a questionnaire designed to investigate several other sociolinguistic questions that are still under study at the time of this writing. (A copy of the 16-item screening test used in this study is found in the Appendix.)

Procedures

Screening process: Sentence completion test. The examiner-constructed sentence completion test used for screening included four grammatical forms that are highly stigmatized when NSE or, more particularly, BAE variants are used (Wolfram, 1970). Each grammatical form was presented four times in alternating order for a total of 16 items on the screening test. The test evoked the following grammatical forms: (a) third person singular verb-subject agreement present tense, (b) negative concord, (c) possessive suffix, and (d) continuative *be*.

The sentence completion test was administered by the first author, an experienced Black male speech-language pathologist who used SE. The examiner presented a picture stimulus while presenting on audiotape the beginning of a sentence that explained the action in the picture. The potential subjects were asked to complete the sentence. Each NSE response was recorded immediately on a form. The total number of NSE responses to the 16 sentence completion tasks was noted regardless of the grammatical form. Thus, the total score could range from 0 to 16. A tally of each grammatical form was also made, ranging from 0 to 4. The sentence fragment presented on tape was also printed adjacent to the picture that was viewed by the examinee. The examinees were able to emit either the SE or NSE variant of the grammatical form and to complete the sentences with relative ease. A total of 305 people participated in the screening. There were 165 (54.1%)[1] who met the criterion; 76 were available or consented to participate beyond the screening stage of the study. Scores were expressed in the form of the percentage of NSE variants for the four grammatical forms.

Spontaneous conversation. Approximately 20 min of spontaneous conversation was obtained from each of the 76 subjects and tape recorded using a Nakamichi 550 tape recorder and a Sony F-25S microphone. The same examiner who administered the sentence completion test obtained 73 of the samples of conversation. The other 3 subjects were interviewed by a trained undergraduate Black man majoring in speech-language pathology. The subjects were generally asked to describe their hobbies and leisure time activities and to give their assessment of the local professional athletic teams. The topics of conversation were often unique because the subjects were encouraged to talk about things that particularly interested them. For some of the subjects this method failed to evoke some grammatical forms. Four subjects failed to emit the verb-subject agreement and negative concord forms; 14 subjects did not emit the possessive suffix form; and the continuative *be* form was the most difficult to evoke with 22 of the subjects failing to produce this form during conversation.

By tallying the SE and the NSE variants for each of the four grammatical forms for each subject, it was possible to determine the percentage of NSE variants for each subject for each of the four forms. Subjects who did not emit one or more of the four grammatical forms under investigation during spontaneous conversation were not included for the form or forms that did not occur. For example, a subject who did not use the possessive form but did use one or more instances of the other forms was included in the *N* for the other three grammatical forms but not in the *N* for the possessive form. It was decided to include subjects for whom there was only a single occurrence of a form because there are no significant differences between correlation coefficients yielded from samples generated by cutoff points of 1–4 as minimum criteria of occurrences (Ferguson, 1971).

Because the measure of spontaneous conversation involved a degree of subjectivity, three judges were used to establish the reliability of judging NSE versus SE variants for the spontaneous conversation. A test was con-

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[1] Only responses consistent with the rules of BAE were acceptable. However, several patterns of the BAE dialect are identical to patterns of developmental language disorders of some children in families where BAE is not spoken. The advanced ages of our subjects and the prevalence of the NSE pattern (54.1%) among those screened support our assumption that we were observing legitimate patterns of the BAE dialect and not instances of developmental language disorders.

TABLE 1. Composite reliability.

Grammatical forms	*Percentage of agreement*	
	Identification of grammatical form	*Designating variants as SE or NSE*
Verb-subject agreement	.8791	.9944
Negative concord	.8407	.9811
Possessive suffix	.9364	.9556
Continuative *be*	.8298	.9949

ducted to assess the reliability of identifying the four grammatical forms under study and the determination of the identified response as being either the SE or the NSE variant of that form. Two graduate students and a senior who were majoring in speech-language pathology were trained and coded 15 samples of conversation. All reliability coefficients were above .82.[2] (See Table 1 for more information.)

During coding there were very few instances when it was not possible to determine with certainty whether the surface structure speech emitted by a speaker was actually one of the four grammatical forms under investigation. In the absence of certain contextual cues the semantic intent of the speaker could not always be determined from what was observable. For example, the sentence *He be there* could not be included in some contexts because the surface structure was semantically ambiguous. It was not possible to determine whether the speaker was using a form of invariant *be*, which is translated in SE as *He will be there*, or if this was truly a form of continuative *be* where the speaker was expressing the idea that *He is always there on a regular basis.* Because in BAE the surface structure for both sentences is the same, but the underlying semantic structures are different, such ambiguous sentences were excluded.

There were also a few phonetic contexts that made it impossible to determine whether a speaker used a sibilant marker for third person singular verb-subject agreement forms or for the possessive form. For example, a speaker who says, "That's Mr. White's store," with close juncture between the words *White's* and *store* does not permit the listener to be certain whether the possessive marker (/-s/) is present or absent. Such an example could not be included as either the SE or NSE variant of the grammatical form in question. These surface structure ambiguities, however, had no significant impact on the outcome of this study because such utterances occurred infrequently in the speech of these subjects.

Congruity Data Analysis

Global congruity. A global or overall measurement of congruity between results of the sentence completion test and the assessment of spontaneous conversation was determined. This was done by computing the correlation coefficient between the percentage of NSE variants that occurred during spontaneous conversation for all four grammatical forms combined with the percentage of NSE responses of these same subjects to all 16 items on the sentence completion screening test. The data for all four grammatical forms were combined for both of the assessment protocols. Through this analysis we sought to determine the congruity between the sentence completion test and spontaneous conversation regardless of the particular grammatical form.

Congruity for individual grammatical forms. A separate measure of congruity between the percentage of NSE responses on the sentence completion test and the percentage of NSE variants in spontaneous conversation for each of the four grammatical forms was also computed. The *N* for the various grammatical forms differed because of the differences in the number of subjects who emitted either SE or NSE variants of these forms during the sampling of spontaneous conversation. The number of subjects contributing data for the various grammatical forms was: verb-subject agreement, 72; negative concord, 72; possessive suffix, 62; continuative *be*, 54.

Predictive validity. Predictive validity was measured by observing the percentage of instances in which at least one NSE dialect response to the sentence completion test corresponded to the use of at least one NSE dialect variant of a given grammatical form during spontaneous conversation. The percentage of subjects who used SE only for both assessment modes was also determined. These two percentage values were added together to provide the *total of agreement.*

RESULTS

Global Congruity

For this measure of congruity between the two test modes, Pearson's r (Ferguson, 1971) correlations were computed between the proportion of NSE variants relative to the total occurrence of grammatical forms during spontaneous conversation on one hand and these subjects' percentage NSE score on the 16-item sentence completion screening test. The result was a correlation of .2344, which is significant at the .05 level of confidence ($p < .05$). But this correlation, although significant, is not very meaningful in that it only accounts for 5.5% of the variance. There is apparently some minimal correlation between the overall scores of these two assessment protocols. See Table 2 for a summary of global and individual correlations.

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[2] Reliability was calculated using Holsti's (1969) composite reliability formula. This formula is based on percentage of agreement between all possible pairs of raters.

Table 2. Correlations between NSE responses to the sentence completion test during spontaneous conversation.

Grammatical forms	*Correlations*
Global NSE responses	.2344*
Verb-subject agreement	.2601
Negation	−.0575
Possessive	.4341*
Continuative *be*	.0110

*$p < .05$.

Congruity for Individual Grammatical Forms

The correlation between the percentage of NSE responses to the four trials of the sentence completion test and the percentage of NSE variants during spontaneous conversation for the possessive suffix form was .4341, which was significant ($p < .05$). Not one of the remaining correlations was significant (see Table 2). It is apparent that the measures of congruency for the individual grammatical forms are variable because the possessive suffix form was the only one showing a statistically significant positive correlation between the sentence completion test results and spontaneous conversation.

Inspection of Tables 3–6 provides some interesting insights into the differential patterns of dialect that occurred as a function of the linguistic form and depending on whether the subjects were responding to the sentence completion test items or engaged in spontaneous conversation. Table 3 reveals that there were 25 subjects who used SE on all four verb-subject agreement sentence completion test trials (100%) but that 23 of these subjects used the NSE dialect variant at a rate of at least 11% during spontaneous conversation; 13 of these subjects who used only the SE dialect variant on the four sentence completion test trials used the NSE verb-subject agreement variant for more than 50% of the possible realizations of this grammatical form during spontaneous conversation. For this grammatical form the sentence completion test failed to identify a considerable number of the subjects who normally used a substantial proportion of the NSE variant during spontaneous conversation. The verb-subject agreement NSE variant is highly prevalent in this population occurring in the speech of 70 of the 72 subjects in at least one of the two assessment protocols. The sentence completion screening test failed to reveal this prevalence.

Table 4 reveals that 5 subjects used only the SE dialect variant for the negative concord form on all four sentence completion trials; however, 4 of these 5 subjects used the NSE negative concord variant more than 80% of the time during spontaneous conversation. For the negative concord form it is apparent that the two assessment protocols failed the test of congruent validity. Some idea of the extent of the lack of congruity is indicated by the fact that only 1 of the 4 subjects who used only the SE negative concord variant during spontaneous conversation used SE only for both assessment procedures.

Of the four grammatical forms investigated, the possessive suffix (see Table 5) form yielded the highest level of congruent validity as indicated by the statistically significant correlation found between the results of the two assessment modes. Nevertheless, Table 5 shows that of the 10 subjects who used only the SE variant during the four sentence completion trials, 7 used NSE variants during spontaneous conversation; 11 subjects who used NSE on only one sentence completion trial and 2 who used NSE on only two sentence completion trials used SE only during spontaneous conversation. However, unlike the other three grammatical forms, the subjects' responses to the two test modes for the possessive suffix form resulted in a moderate statistically significant correlation for this particular grammatical form.

For the continuative *be* form there was a remarkable absence of congruity between the percentage of usage of NSE variants for the two modes of assessment ($r = .011$, $p > .05$). This lack of congruity is apparent in Table 6,

Table 3. Frequency of NSE responses to four verb-subject agreement trials and NSE responses of the same subjects during spontaneous conversation; $n = 72$.

Percentage NSE spontaneous conversation	*NSE responses to sentence completion test trials*					
	0 = SE only	*1 25%*	*2 50%*	*3 75%*	*4 100%*	*Totals N*
0 = SE only	2	1	2			5
1–10						0
11–20	4	1	1		1	7
21–30	2	3	2			7
31–40	3	1		1		5
41–50	1	3	1		1	6
51–60	2		2			4
61–70	1	2	1			4
71–80	6	5	2		1	14
81–90	2	1	3	3		9
91–100	2	2	1	4	2	11
Totals *N*	25	19	15	8	5	72
M	50.44	55.20	55.09	85.24	68.21	

Note. $r = .2601$, $p > .05$.

TABLE 4. Frequency of NSE responses to four negative concord trials and NSE responses of the same subjects during spontaneous conversation; n = 72.

Percentage NSE spontaneous conversation	*NSE responses to sentence completion test trials*					
	0 = SE only	*1 25%*	*2 50%*	*3 75%*	*4 100%*	*Totals N*
0 = SE only	1				3	4
1–10						0
11–20		1		1	2	4
21–30			1		2	3
31–40				1		1
41–50		1			2	3
51–60					1	1
61–70						0
71–80			1	2	2	5
81–90	1		1	1	3	6
91–100	3	4	5	15	18	45
Totals *N*	5	6	8	20	33	72
M	76.35	78.33	85.86	89.07	74.28	

Note. $r = -.0575, p > .05$.

which shows that of 33 subjects who used only the SE dialect variant (0% NSE) during the sentence completion trials, only 2 used SE only (0% NSE) during spontaneous conversation. The remaining 31 subjects represent 57% of the 54 subjects who produced this form during spontaneous conversation. Of the *n* of 54, 50 subjects (92%) used the NSE variant of the continuant *be* form at least 50% of the time during spontaneous conversation. Inspection of the raw data indicates that 46 or 85.19% of these subjects used the continuative *be* form in spontaneous conversation 100% of the time. It is apparent that congruent validity levels vary greatly as a function of the grammatical form.

Predictive Validity

The data were inspected to determine whether at least one sentence completion trial for a given grammatical form was rendered in NSE when at least one emission of the NSE variant of that form occurred during spontaneous conversation. It was also noted whether SE only responses to the sentence completion test resulted in SE only responses during spontaneous conversation. The percentage of these two occurrences was computed and combined to provide a total percentage, which is shown in Table 7 as *total of agreement*. These results, which indicate the extent to which the sentence completion test can be used to predict a minimal use of NSE in spontaneous conversation, are summarized in Table 7.

This is a rather liberal measure of predictive validity based on a minimal level of predictive power of the sentence completion test to predict the occurrence of dialect variants in spontaneous conversation. Using this criterion it was found that the level of predictive validity for verb-subject agreement was 63.89%. For negative concord the percentage of correct predictions was

TABLE 5. Frequency of NSE responses to four possessive suffix trials on the sentence completion test and NSE responses of the same subjects during spontaneous conversation; n = 62.

Percentage NSE spontaneous conversation	*NSE responses to sentence completion test trials*					
	0 = SE only	*1 25%*	*2 50%*	*3 75%*	*4 100%*	*Totals N*
0 = SE only	3	11	2			16
1–10						0
11–20		6				6
21–30	2		4			6
31–40	1	7				8
41–50	2	3	5			10
51–60		1	1			2
61–70						0
71–80		1	2		1	4
81–90						0
91–100	2	2	4	1	1	10
Totals *N*	10	31	18	1	2	62
M	27.88	26.80	53.33	100	85.71	

Note. $r = .4341, p < .05$.

Table 6. Frequency of NSE responses to four continuative *be* trials on the sentence completion test and NSE responses of the same subjects during spontaneous conversation; $n = 54$.

Percentage NSE spontaneous conversation	*NSE responses to sentence completion test trials*					
	0 = SE only	*1 25%*	*2 50%*	*3 75%*	*4 100%*	*Totals N*
0 = SE only	2					2
1–10						0
11–20						0
21–30						0
31–40	2					2
41–50				1	1	2
51–60						0
61–70						0
71–80				1		1
81–90	1					1
91–100	28	7	3	6	2	46
Totals *N*	33	7	3	8	3	54
M	89.60	100	100	91.25	83.33	

Note. $r = .0110$, $p > .05$.

91.67%. The level of correct predictions was 67.74% for the possessive suffix form and a considerably lower level of 42.59% for the continuative *be* form. Using this method to indicate predictive validity, it is apparent that only the negative concord items of the sentence completion test predicted the presence or absence of NSE variants in spontaneous conversation above the level of 90%. For verb-subject agreement, possessive suffix, and continuative *be* there was *total nonagreement* or a failure of the sentence completion test to predict at rates of 36.11%, 32.26%, and 57.4%, respectively. The differences in predictability are a function of the grammatical form. Clearly, only the negative concord form provides a level of predictive validity that makes the sentence completion items clinically useful.

DISCUSSION

Congruent Validity

Congruent validity was determined by using Pearson's r in an effort to discover whether a statistically significant correlation existed between the percentage of NSE dialect variants in response to the sentence completion test and the percentage of NSE dialect variants used in spontaneous conversation. The global result for the 76 Black male subjects of this study revealed a low but statistically significant correlation between the two assessment protocols. However, when the correlations were computed between percentage of NSE use on the sentence completion test and the percentage of NSE use during spontaneous conversation for isolated grammatical forms, only the possessive suffix form resulted in a statistically significant level of correlation. This finding suggests that the various linguistic forms are unique with respect to their level of congruent validity between the items of a formal sentence completion test and conversation. The results indicate that for some grammatical forms there is a greater congruent validity between the two assessment measures than for others. The differential findings for individual grammatical forms make it apparent that the statistically significant global correlation was misleading and that the differences between the subjects'

Table 7. Agreement and nonagreement between sentence completion test and spontaneous conversation based on at least one occurrence of NSE or the absence of NSE for either of the two types of measures.

	Agreement			*Nonagreement*		
Linguistic form	*+Sen. comp. and +conversation*	*−Sen. comp. and −conversation*	*Total of agreement*	*+Sen. comp. and −conversation*	*−Sen. comp. and +conversation*	*Total of nonagreement*
Verb-sub. agr. ($n = 72$)	44 (61.11%)	2 (2.78%)	46 (63.89%)	3 (4.17%)	23 (31.94%)	26 (36.11%)
Negative concord ($n = 72$)	65 (90.28%)	1 (1.39%)	66 (91.67%)	3 (4.17%)	3 (4.17%)	6 (8.33%)
Possessive suffix ($n = 62$)	39 (62.90%)	3 (4.84%)	42 (67.74%)	13 (20.97%)	7 (11.29%)	20 (32.26%)
Continuative *be* ($n = 54$)	21 (38.89%)	2 (3.70%)	23 (42.59%)	0 (0%)	31 (57.41%)	31 (57.41%)

Note. + indicates at least one instance of NSE; − indicates that there were no occurrences of NSE.

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responses to individual grammatical forms were masked when all forms were viewed together.

These findings are consistent with the observations of Labov (1969), Wolfram (1974), and Kachuk (1978) regarding the presence of fluctuating variants; the subjects of this study shifted back and forth between the use of SE and NSE variants at a very high rate of occurrence during the formal test and during spontaneous conversation. However, only the possessive suffix sentence completion items of the examiner-constructed test of this study yielded results that reflected the proportion of use of the NSE variants that could be expected to occur during spontaneous conversation.

We believe that the proportion of use of SE or NSE dialect variants of a linguistic form has implications for interpreting results of assessment and for prescribing a client's program for second dialect teaching. It seems reasonable to assume that the higher the proportion of NSE variants that occur in a speaker's conversational speech, the greater the degree of social significance (i.e., the stigmatized variants will be more noticeable to critical listeners). Therefore, the second dialect teacher might elect to make the linguistic features with higher percentages of NSE variants higher priority items in the teaching sequence than those features that have a lower percentage of NSE variants. It would be useful if a sentence completion test or some other efficient test could provide a valid indicator of the percentage of use of NSE dialect variants that could be expected in a speaker's spontaneous conversation. The test used in this study was useful in this regard for only one of four linguistic features investigated. Even for the possessive suffix form there was only a moderate statistically significant positive correlation between the two assessment modes.

Results of this study of dialect usage were similar to findings of Fujiki and Willbrand (1982), who investigated the comparative responses of young, language-disordered children to different testing methods. Although the specific grammatical forms used by Fujiki and Willbrand were different from those of the present study, they also found that there were different patterns of concurrent validity between assessment protocols based on the particular linguistic form being assessed. We have concluded, based on these two studies, that the variable results with respect to grammatical forms that we have observed is a function of the grammatical form being tested. We also conclude that the differences in response to different assessment protocols are independent of whether the speaker is responding with a linguistic code characterized as being dialectal in nature or whether the linguistic code is a reflection of a developmental language disorder.

With the exception of the possessive suffix form, the subjects of this study tended to use a greater percentage of SE variants in response to the sentence completion test than during spontaneous conversation. For example, for the verb-subject agreement and the continuative *be* forms there were 23 and 31 subjects, respectively, who used SE only in response to the sentence completion test but who used one or more NSE variants for these forms during conversation.

It might be argued that the greater use of SE during the more formal sentence completion test indicates that the speakers had control of both dialects and that they were able to switch at will from one variant to another as a result of pragmatic rules that were dictated by social context. However, this would not explain those instances of NSE usage that *did* occur during the sentence completion test. We are convinced that these subjects could not be regarded as being productively bidialectal merely based on their use of both SE and NSE variants. We are particularly persuaded to this view by the very common occurrence of fluctuating variants of a given grammatical form during conversation; the idea that one or the other variant was under control of some pragmatic factor is ruled out due to the fact that the social situation remained constant throughout the periods of conversation. Because the subjects fluctuated in their use of NSE and SE variants with no apparent change in pragmatic conditions, we are unable to explain these fluctuations. There seemed to be no conscious awareness of the use of fluctuating variants of a grammatical form during either of the two types of language sampling activities. If indeed these subjects were unaware of their variable use of the two patterns of dialect, those who might elect to use one or the other variant in a particular social situation would seem not to have the control of the preferred variant that would permit the speaker to use that variant at will.

Predictive Validity

The data were also inspected in an effort to determine the extent to which the presence of NSE reponses to the sentence completion test was predictive of the use of NSE in spontaneous conversation. Table 7 summarizes this analysis of the data that was done by merely recording those instances where a subject who used at least one NSE variant during the sentence completion test also used at least one NSE variant during spontaneous conversation. We also tallied the number of instances where there were zero occurrences of NSE in both the sentence completion test and during conversation. Percentages were computed for the above two sets of tallies and added to give the total of agreement. Based on the face value of the percentage total of agreement, the sentence completion test was found to be an unacceptable indicator of the subjects' pattern of dialect during conversational speech. The negative concord form is a notable exception with a total of agreement between the two assessment modes of 91.67%. Again, the grammatical forms yielded different results with the possessive suffix form having the next highest total of agreement at 67.74%; the total of agreement for verb-subject agreement was 63.89%; total of agreement for continuative *be* was quite low at 42.59%. For the negative concord form it seems that the sentence completion items used in this investigation could be employed as a screening device that could predict at a 91.67% level of accuracy which subjects would use SE only for both assessments or would use NSE at least once on the four sentence completion trials and could be expected to use a NSE variant on some occasion during spontaneous conversation.

It is interesting to note that when the congruent validity of the two assessment methods based on the proportion of NSE use was examined, the possessive suffix form yielded the highest and only statistically significant correlation. However, when the correlation between the percentage of NSE variants on the sentence completion test and the percentage of NSE variants for conversation was discarded and the percentage of subjects who emitted at least one NSE variant for both the formal test and spontaneous conversation was merely noted, we found there was nonagreement between the two assessment modes among more than 30% of these subjects. In our judgment, a test that fails to predict which persons will use NSE variants at a rate of less than 90% is unsatisfactory.

We were surprised to discover such a wide discrepancy between the responses to the two test modes for the four grammatical forms regarding both congruity and predictability. For example, for the negative concord form, the sentence completion test failed to predict which subjects would use one or more NSE variants during conversation for only 8.33% of the subjects; for the continuative *be* form, the sentence completion test failed to predict the use of one or more NSE variants during conversation for 57.41% of the subjects.

We can only speculate about the causes of the variable nature of the findings of this study. One factor influencing the differential responses to the two test methods may have been the low selection criterion that allowed subjects to be included who used any combination of only three NSE responses to the entire sentence completion test. Although raising the criterion may have resulted in greater congruity between the sentence completion test and spontaneous conversation, it would have eliminated many persons who used a considerable amount of NSE during conversation. The sentence completion test is apparently capable of yielding results highly congruent with spontaneous conversation for that group of speakers who are essentially categorical users of SE or NSE variants of a particular grammatical form. But this was rare in this population of speakers characterized by a wide range of degree of use of NSE. It is possible that pictorial and verbal stimuli used to evoke responses to the sentence completion test contained unknown biases that favored either the NSE or SE dialect variant of a grammatical form. An additional explanation may be that the general but variable tendency for NSE variants to occur more often during conversation than in response to the sentence completion test may have been a response to the more formal nature of the test. The greater formality of the sentence completion test protocol possibly triggered a mediation process that tended to prompt subjects to favor the SE variant. This mediation may have resulted from some awareness of the higher prestige associated with the SE variant. Therefore, the sentence completion test may tend to evoke the more socially approved variant more often than does conversation because conversation is less formal, more automatic, and, thus, less subject to conscious or even subconscious mediation. It is also possible that the presence of an adult administering the sentence completion test may have tended to evoke the more socially approved SE variants.

A possible explanation for the highly variable responses of these subjects to the different grammatical forms is that there may have been at least some level of awareness or some notion of the differences in the amount of social significance attached to the NSE variant depending on the grammatical form. For example, the NSE variant for the continuative *be* form is highly stigmatized and used almost exclusively among working class Black speakers (Wolfram, 1969). The narrow socially stratified use of this dialect variant is probably related to the fact that 57% of the subjects completely avoided the NSE variant of continuative *be* in response to the more formal sentence completion test but used the NSE variant at some time during conversation. In fact, 85% of this group used the NSE variant of this form in conversation 100% of the time. This differed sharply from the level of congruity between the two assessment methods found among the other three grammatical forms.

The ability of the subjects to shift dialects as a function of the type of elicitation mechanism probably attests to their capacity to code switch. However, we are not inclined to conclude that the switch from SE to NSE is under conscious control, even in the case of continuative *be*; our suspicion is that the speakers generally do not make a volitional choice between codes.

Although we are uncertain about the reasons for our findings, the results strongly suggest caution in the use of a sentence completion test. The findings lead to the conclusion that a composite result from a sentence completion test of several grammatical forms may lead to erroneous assumptions about a speaker's use of NSE during conversational speech. The sentence completion test was found to yield a moderately satisfactory level of congruity with spontaneous conversation on only the possessive suffix form among the four forms studied. The sentence completion test was found to be a satisfactory predictor of whether a subject would use the NSE variant during conversation on only one (negative concord) of the four grammatical forms. The findings of extremely variable results with respect to congruity and predictability suggest that the general use of a sentence completion test is unsatisfactory. This study suggests that the test can be used with reasonable confidence that it represents the patterns of dialect that can be expected during conversational speech only when assessing specific grammatical forms. For assessing socially significant grammatical forms for the purpose of prescribing a program of second dialect training, the cumbersome and more time-consuming task of evoking and analyzing samples of conversational speech seems to be the better option.

A major weakness of relying on samples of conversation for assessing dialect differences is that some significant linguistic forms may not be emitted. However, for those that are emitted, there seems to be a good chance that a listener can reliably identify the form and appropriately designate the NSE variant as indicated by the reliability coefficient of three judges shown in Table 1. But it must be kept in mind that the judges in this study were concentrating on only four grammatical forms. This task becomes more difficult when all possible instances of NSE phonology and grammar must be assessed simultaneously. This task is made easier if the examiner has a reasonably good idea of the rules that are common in the dialect of the examinee's community. Although it may consume a considerable amount of the examiner's time, the entire tape recorded sample or portions of it can be replayed until the examiner is satisfied that the socially significant NSE elements have been noted. Based on the success of the judges who participated in this study, a knowledgeable examiner can be expected to be successful in identifying significant elements of NSE dialect by analyzing taped samples of conversation.

It would be useful to replicate this study to discover whether there was reliability with the same linguistic forms yielding the same patterns of test congruity and predictability. Future studies should include a larger number of trials for each of the grammatical forms. Additional socially significant grammatical forms should be included in subsequent studies. In addition to assessing congruity and predictability between the sentence completion test and conversation, responses to an elicited imitation test should be studied. There is also a need to discover the factors responsible for the variable results found in this study and that might also be found in similar future efforts. If later investigations of this issue yield similar results, the solution to the problem of constructing a useful test of this kind may be found by refining the interpretation of the results.

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APPENDIX

SENTENCE COMPLETION SCREENING TEST

(A picture was used to depict the situations related to the sentences.)

1. Bob does this every day. What does Bob do every day? He *play(s)* ball every day. (Verb-subject agreement)
2. Bill's eyes were completely closed so he could not see at all. What could Bill see? He couldn't see *(anything) (nothing)*. (Negative concord)
3. Joe is reading his book. The book belongs to Joe. Whose book is it? It's *Joe('s)* book. (Possessive suffix)
4. Whenever Tom should be home studying his homework he's always playing ball. What's Tom always doing when he should be studying? He *(is always) (be)* playing ball. (Continuative *be*)
5. Dave is jogging 5 miles. He does this every day to stay in shape. What does Dave do every day to stay in shape? He *jog(s)* 5 miles. (Verb-subject agreement)
6. Clyde did everything wrong. What did Clyde do right? He didn't do *(anything) (nothing)* right. (Negative concord)
7. This car belongs to this man. His name is Mr. Smith. Whose car is this? This is Mr. *Smith('s)* car. (Possessive suffix)
8. James's neck itches all the time. He scratches his neck all the time. Why does James always scratch his neck? Because his neck *(is always) (be)* itching. (Continuative *be*)
9. Mr. Jones is walking 2 miles. He does this every day to stay in shape. What does Mr. Jones do every day to stay in shape? He *walk(s)* 2 miles. (Verb-subject agreement)
10. John hates to read. John shot pool all day Tuesday. How much did John read on Tuesday? John didn't read *(anything) (nothing)* on Tuesday. (Negative concord)
11. This girl is named Alice. The doll belongs to Alice. Whose doll is it? It's *Alice('s)* doll. (Possessive suffix)
12. Raymond oversleeps every morning. He always misses his bus every morning. Every morning when Raymond reaches the bus stop the bus *(is always) (be)* gone. (Continuative *be*)
13. Mrs. Harris is cooking dinner. She does this every day. What does she do every day? She *cook(s)* dinner. (Verb-subject agreement)
14. Bob doesn't like to do work. Bob played ball all day Monday. How much work did Bob do on Monday? Bob didn't do *(any work) (no work)* on Monday. (Negative concord)
15. This ball belongs to Pete. Whose ball is this? This is *Pete('s)* ball. (Possessive suffix)
16. Raymond is always late for work. His boss fusses with him every morning. Why is Raymond's boss always fussing with him every morning? Because Raymond *(is always) (be)* late for work every day. (Continuative *be*)

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Walt Wolfram
CSU

Handout: Considerations in Teaching Spoken Standard English

The Philosophical Perspectives

1. eradicationism
2. bidialectalism
3. dialect appreciation (leave your dialect alone!)

Considerations for Implementing a Successful Program

1. Teaching SE Must Plug Into the "Peer Reference" Factor of the Candidate
   e.g. where the students' peers are, where they want to go, etc.

2. The Teaching of SE Should be Based Upon an Understanding of the Systematic Differences Between the Standard and Nonstandard Forsm

3. Teaching Standard English Should be Coupled with Information About Dialect Diversity
   e.g. why dialects differ, how they differ, historical facts, myths versus reality of dialects

4. The Goals of a Program should be Clearly and Consistently Integrated into the Program

5. The Dialect of Spoken English Taught Should be Realistic in Terms of Community Norms

6. The Program Must Include Dimensions of Language Function as Well as Language Form
   e.g. conventions of politeness, direct and indirect speech acts, etc.

Types of Drills often Used in Teaching Spoken Standard English

1. discrimination drills
   e.g. same/different drills with SE and Vernacular Dialect

2. identification drills
   e.g. identifying which forms/functions are associated with which dialects

3. translation drills
   e.g. using the stimulus of one dialect to translate to the other

4. response drills
   e.g. appropriate response to stimulus, matching dialect of stimulus

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WHEN TEACHING A SPEAKER TO BECOME BI-DIALECTAL, WHAT SHOULD BE TAUGHT FIRST?

Walt Wolfram has suggested that the various rules be taught in the order of their social significance. The following Matrix of Cruciality is reproduced with the permission of Dr. Walt Wolfram.

Reference: Wolfram, Walt, Sociolinguistic Implications For Educational Sequencing, in Teaching Standard English in the Inner City (R. W. Fasold & R. W. Shuy, Editors), Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. (1970), pp. 105-119.

Black English Feature	sharp stratification [+] gradient stratification [-]	general rule [+] non-general rule [-]	grammatical feature [+] phonological feature [-]	general significance [+] regional significance [-]	frequent occurrence [+] infrequent occurrence [-]
-s third person singular (e.g. he go)	+	+	+	+	+
multiple negation (e.g. didn't do nothing)	+	+	+	+	+
-s possessive (e.g. man hat)	+	+	+	+	-
invariant be (e.g. he be home)	+	+	±	+	+
copula absence (e.g. he nice)	+	+	-	+	+
been auxiliary in active sentence (e.g. he been ate the food)	+	-	+	+	-
existential it (e.g. It is a whole lot of people)	+	-	+	+	+
word-medial and final ð and θ (e.g. /tuf/ 'tooth')	+	+	-	+	+
word-final consonant clusters (e.g. /gɛs/ 'guest' and 'guessed')	±	+	-	+	+
word-initial ð (e.g. /dɛn/ 'then')	-	+	-	+	+
monophthongization (e.g. /tahm/ 'time')	-	+	-	-	+
post-vocalic r and l (e.g. /cah/ 'car')	-	+	-	-	+
syllable-final d (e.g. /bɛht/ 'bad')	-	+	-	-	+
ɪ/ɛ before nasals (e.g. /pɪn/ 'pin' or 'pen')	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 3. Matrix of Cruciality

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TEACHING A SECOND DIALECT
Prepared by Howard A. Mims, Ph.D.
Department of Speech and Hearing
Cleveland State University

The following suggestions for teaching a second dialect are based on the contrast and comparison techniques of Irwin Feigenbaum.

Reference: Feigenbaum, Irwin, The Use of Nonstandard English in Teaching Standard: Contrast and Comparison, in Teaching Standard English in the Inner City, (Raplh W. Fasold & Roger W. Shuy, Eds.), Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. (1970), pp. 87-104.

The purpose is not to eradicate the first dialect because it is socially appropriate in certain settings and on certain occasions. By using methods of contrast and comparison we teach rules of the second dialect by following the following steps.

1. Presentation - Present examples of the dialect differences.
2. Discrimination Drills - The student is helped to recognize the difference between the two dialects.
3. Identification Drills - The student must be able to tell which dialect is being spoken.
4. Translation Drills - The student must be able to translate from one dialect to another.
5. Response Drills - A question is asked in one dialect and the student is required to respond in the appropriate dialect while contradicting the first statement.

EXAMPLES

A. Presentation

It is Alice doll.

It is Alice's doll.

(The contrasting sentences are put on the board and the differences in the way the two dialects express possession are pointed out and discussed.)

B. Discrimination Drills

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. It is Alice doll. It is Alice's doll.	1. different
2. It's Joe book. It's Joe book.	2. same
3. It's his brother's hat It's his brother's hat	3. same

C. Identification Drills

1. It's Robert dog.	1. nonstandard
2. They painted Bob's house.	2. standard

D. Translation Drills

Teacher stimulus	Student Response
1. They worked on Tom's car.	1. They worked on Tom car.
2. They visited Mr. Brown farm.	2. They visited Mr. Brown's farm.
3. That is the judge car.	3. That is the judge's car.
4. Go to Mr. Smith's house.	4. Go to Mr. Smith house.

E. Response Drills

1. He operates a coin laundry.	1. No,he doesn't.
2. She drive to work.	2. No, she don't.
3. He be late every day.	3. No, he don't.
4. He don't never be tired.	4. Yes, he do.
5. He studies law.	5. No, he doesn't.

Notice that the response drill provides for some degree of spontaneous speech. The teacher provides a stimulus statement and the student contradicts it using the same dialect.

THE CALL AND POST
Saturday, July 14, 1979
Page 9A

Executive Director
National Association
Advancement of
Colored People

Benjamin L. Hooks

"No" to Black English

Once more, the question of whether so-called "black English" is a distinctive language that should be taught in school is rearing its ugly, destructive head. Pushed by a number of blacks in the late 60s and early 70s as a form of cultural expression, and not surprisingly supported by some whites, the ostensible idea behind the drive to use this language form in public schools is that poor black children in predominantly segregated urban areas would learn more readily if they were taught in the vernacular with which they were most familiar.

Now, U.S. District Judge Charles W. Joiner is being asked to order the Ann Arbor school system to require black English as a standard learning tool. Two years ago, 11 black children who attended Martin Luther King Junior High School sued the local Board of Education in an attempt to force it to impose black English on the system.

They claimed that the system violated their civil rights by failing to take appropriate action to help them overcome their language barrier.

The very idea that black children will be further handicapped by any imposed requirement to learn their "three R's," which they so desperately need to compete in a highly developed society cries out for resounding protest against the black English drive. The effort to require black English in public schools is a sin and a crime that should be condemned in no uncertain language.

No doubt, some of the black English promoters will make bundles of money from books and the development of teaching materials. They, who are already well educated and able to communicate in the basic idiom of society, can also afford to vent their egotistical drives for esoteric sounding ideas and research projects that are meant to benefit no one else but themselves. But, why at the expense of black children?

What about the permanent damage that black English will inflict on generations of minority children who will be unable to compete in this highly technical and complex society?

Better for them to learn Swahili than attempt to elevate a particular cultural dialect or communication form to standard usage. That would be, of course, after they have learned to speak and write standard English. At least they would have the benefit of a second language. And the study of Swahili would certainly broaden their eduction and cultural exposure by requiring the students to study about other societies.

The simple fact, though , is that black children already know black English. It is a language form that is learned from birth. We would wish to believe that what some folk seek in supporting the black English drive is to facilitate better communication between the teacher and student.

So, while we are strongly opposed to black English being institutionalized, we see no problem in developing necessary classroom flexibility to improve communication between teacher and student. But the burden of developing appropriate communication means should not be at the expense of the young, who would be rendered incapable of communicating properly as adults in standard English, the language of the marketplace.

They must be prepared and educated to function in a society in which proper written and spoken English is the measure of ability, whether in filling out a job application form or passing increasingly required high school tests.

The responsibility for developing this communication flexibility, therefore, should be on the paid professional, the teacher, to enter the classroom better prepared to deal with the cultural differences and backgrounds of their students.

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THE PLAIN DEALER

Black English cop-out

A recent federal court decision requiring teachers at an elementary school in Ann Arbor, Mich., to learn so-called "black English" because of the failures of young black pupils is preposterous. And it could turn out to be counterproductive.

While being sensitive to environmental differences can be very beneficial in the teaching process, the requirement placed on the Ann Arbor teachers is a cop-out. There was no evidence that the failures of the young blacks were the result of teachers' inability to understand them. And even if there were such evidence, it would not be reason enough for the court remedy.

Somebody has it backwards. The idea is for schools to teach pupils how to get along in society, not the other way around.

The court decision requiring 28 teachers to study "black English" for 20 hours followed a lawsuit filed in behalf of 11 black children who, the judge ruled, spoke a dialect that includes colloquial speech used primarily by black persons in informal conversation. Examples given included "he be gone" for "he is gone," and "to sell wuf tickets," meaning "to challenge to a fight."

There is nothing inherently wrong in informal colloquial conversation, nor in learning to understand someone else's colloquialisms.

But the complaint that the Ann Arbor teachers did not understand the pupils' conversational dialect is a too-easy alibi for not learning.

Carl T. Rowan, whose syndicated column appears in The Plain Dealer, has done research on the Ann Arbor legal case. Rowan points out that there was no issue of inferior school facilities; there was no issue of segregation as about 80% of the pupils were white and about 10% of the teachers were black; the school had special programs for remedial reading and diction lessons and appeared to have made major efforts to help teach disadvantaged pupils to learn to read and write, and there was evidence that black pupils used standard English well in school while using "black English" only in casual conversation.

Asked Rowan, why blame the teachers when the pupils were frequently absent from school and showed learning and emotional problems? Rowan said that it is more important to get black children to attend school, to persuade their parents of the value of reading at home, and to persuade their teachers of the value of forcing pupils to consistently read newspapers and magazines.

Ann Arbor's school superintendent, Dr. Harry Howard, was quoted this week as saying teachers would not be teaching "black English" as a result of the federal court decision. We certainly hope not.

Schools do not need to teach in "black English" or any other special dialect. There is a great need for just the opposite, remedial courses in reading and writing, as well as basic mathematics — special programs to help people learn how to communicate and figure.

How can people be expected to get along, to be successful and to rise from poverty if they cannot speak, write and read the language of the society in which they hope to succeed?

LEAD EDITORIAL

THE PLAIN DEALER
MONDAY, JULY 16, 1979

Pride fails in English

Carl T. Rowan

WASHINGTON — A lot of terrible things have been done in the name of racial pride, by all the races of man. One of the silliest and potentially most destructive is the current campaign to classify the bad English of ghetto blacks as "a separate language."

Blacks have filed suit in Michigan, with similar litigation in prospect elsewhere, in an effort to get special "bilingual" instruction for young blacks who say, "Michael, do you be respected yo' motha?" instead of, "Michael, do you respect your mother?"

The problem that provokes these efforts to have the courts declare "black English" a derivative of the Bantu languages, and thus a "foreign" language like Spanish, is very serious. The pitiful reality is that millions of black American youngsters grow up in environments where "white English" is rarely spoken, newspapers, books and magazines are not read regularly. Thus poor central city black students fare terribly on standardized tests because much of what is in those tests "is Greek" to them.

Let's accept the premise of a cultural, environmental problem, although I wonder what happens to the impact of television, which ghetto blacks watch hour on hour, and where "white English" is used.

There is still no sane reason for schools to say to black youngsters, "We'll treat you as foreigners and use "black English" when we teach you algebra, physics, biology."

This would be a crime perpetrated in the name of "racial pride."

The greatest burden blacks carry in America today, except for the entrenched institutionalization of racism, is that black children are not being taught the importance of communication — of using the language of the society in which they hope to succeed.

I visit a predominantly black high school campus and a youngster says to me: "Do you be on TV?" There isn't a reason on earth why that child should not have been taught, or cannot be taught, to say: "Are you on television?"

If I had my way, every teacher who instructs black children would REQUIRE them to read a newspaper and watch a television news show every day — plus read at least one news magazine a week. That teacher would hammer into the heads of these black youngsters an understanding that "black pride" is enhanced when you know more about what's going on than someone else, or when you can orate, use the national language, the way Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., or Whitney Young, or Mary McLeod Bethune, or the Rev. Jesse Jackson and others have used it.

Of all the black dilemmas, the most important in America is that we are out-propagandized on every issue vital to us because we do not control or have access to enough of the media, and our people on the whole do not use the language of America well enough to make their ideas and aspirations prevail.

For a court to say "black English" is "a foreign tongue" and require schools in Ann Arbor, Mich., or any place else to teach ghetto children in "black English" would be a tragedy. For that would consign millions of black children to a linguistic separation that would guarantee that they will never "make it" in the larger U.S. society.

What black children need is an end to this malarkey that tells them they can fail to learn grammar, fail to develop vocabularies, ignore syntax and embrace the mumbo-jumbo of ignorance — and dismiss it in the name of "black pride."

What we need is a massive allocation of teachers and resources to remedial programs to teach black children to speak, read and write the language of their native land.

Success will forever elude the black American who cannot use the language of this society, and those who delude blacks into believing that they can make it on "black English" are consigning a lot of children to lives of bitter frustration.

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Is this why black Johnnie can't read?

Carl T. Rowan

WASHINGTON — I have read the decision of U.S. District Judge Charles W. Joiner in the celebrated "black English" lawsuit in Ann Arbor, Mich., and I am both amazed and appalled.

This judge, well-meaning beyond doubt, has embraced the flimsiest of sociological-psychological assumptions as the reason why certain black children aren't learning to read. And he has given the Ann Arbor School District board 30 days in which to produce what to me seems impossible: a plan to give otherwise good teachers "sensitivity" and "knowledge" about "black English" so they can use them in teaching certain black students "how to read standard English."

This is a case of more than trifling importance, because as Judge Joiner wrote, "The plaintiffs (11 black children) have attempted to put before this court one of the most important and pervasive problems facing modern urban America — the problem of why 'Johnnie can't read' when Johnnie is black and comes from a scatter low-income housing unit, set down in an [illegible] or middle class area in one of America's most liberal and forward-looking cities."

It bothers me immensely that after all the expert testimony and arguments, and to the exclusion of many obvious and alterable reasons, Judge Joiner seizes upon something as vague as "teacher insensitivity" regarding "black English" as the explanation for the failure of thousands of black children to learn to read.

Let me cite some of the judge's findings of fact to explain my fear that this court has set the stage for copouts on the part of many black parents and students:

- There is no issue here of poor black kids being subjected to either a Jim Crow school or faculty, or to inferior facilities. The 11 children (from a low-income housing project) were attending the Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School, whose population is 80% white, 13% black, 7% Asian, Latin or other. Of the 20 teachers, three are black. Available to the teaching staff are "one or more learning consultants or helping teachers, a speech therapist, a psychologist and a language consultant."

- Plaintiff students were "provided with assistance in reading help and some of them have been offered tailor-made programs in oral reading and phonics . . . The evidence . . . suggests that each teacher made every effort to help and used the many and varied resources of the school system to try to teach the students to learn to read."

- The problem was not that the black plaintiffs spoke only "black English" and needed to be taught in a black dialect. The court found that the students "communicate quite well in standard English" and that while in casual conversation in their community they spoke "black English," "they seem to quickly adapt to standard English in settings where it appears to be the proper language."

But why didn't they learn to read? The court noted that the plaintiffs suffered from "absences from class, learning disabilities and emotional impairment." It also noted that "there is a lack of parental or home support for developing reading skills in standard English, including the absence of persons in the home who read, enjoy and profit from it."

Still, even though the court found "no evidence that any of the teachers have in any way intentionally caused psychological barriers to learning," Judge Joiner wound up blaming the teachers.

I am normally quite respectful of the findings of sociologists and psychologists, but this court decision strikes me as being far-fetched. I am going to regard Joiner's sociological assumptions as dubious at best until we do something about the absences from school, until we make more black parents understand the value of reading in the home, until more teachers force ghetto students to read newspapers and magazines and at least try to resist peer-group pressures to downgrade standard English.

"My teacher was insensitive to my 'Black English'" is an alibi that black youngsters can use forever to "explain" why they did not aspire to excellence, and thus never learned to read — or to prepare for a decent life.

Thanks a lot, Judge Joiner, but black America cannot afford that alibi.

Modest heroes win acclaim

George E. Condon

Memories of an old friend and colleague, the late Bob Manry, surged back in mind the other day, triggered by the story of another American adventurer who successfully sailed the Atlantic Ocean, from Virginia Beach, Va., to Falmouth, England, in a tiny sailboat.

The latest weekend sailor to conquer the big ocean was a man named Gerry Spiess, who did it in a 10-foot craft. Cleveland's Manry did it in 1965 in a 30-year-old sailboat that was 13½ feet long.

Somehow the Manry feat remains the more impressive of the two even though his boat was a few feet longer. When you get down to the tiny dimensions involved, the difference in size cannot be terribly significant.

What does matter is the timing. Manry performed his sailing feat first, and that, without taking anything away from the heroic Gerry Spiess, is the most important advantage.

There were a lot of brave aviators who flew the Atlantic after Charles Lindbergh had blazed the way, but it wasn't quite the same achievement.

Bob Manry would have considered it ludicrous to mention his name and his feat in the same breath with that of Lindbergh, but the individual heroism basically was the very same. The measure of courage required either to fly the Atlantic in a small plane or to sail the Atlantic in a tiny boat would not differ.

There was a striking similarity in the personal modesty of the two men. They did not wear the toga of the hero comfortably. They wriggled when they had to be in the public limelight; almost embarrassed to have such a fuss made over their own personal adventures.

Manry was a personal friend and a colleague. He sat on the rim of The Plain Dealer copy desk and edited stories every night, skillfully putting headlines on all sorts of news events, including, naturally, many tales of derring-do that routinely find their way into newspapers.

It was a passive role in life, but inside every copy editor there is hidden a Walter Mitty who vicariously lives all the excitement that passes beneath his editorial eye.

What made Manry different, however, was his own silent determination to live out the adventure that gripped his imagination. Sometime in his journalistic career, he decided to cross the Atlantic Ocean in his little sailboat and he went ahead with that foolhardy plan so quietly that he took all who knew him by surprise when his voyage actually got under way.

"There comes a time," he told his wife, Virginia, "that one must decide of one's own dreams, either to risk everything to achieve them or sit for the rest of one's life in the backyard."

He was 52 years old when he set sail from Falmouth, Mass., on June 1, 1965: hardly the age of your typical hero. The voyage lasted 78 days. Manry's craft, a boat called Tinkerbelle, arrived in the harbor of Falmouth, England, on Aug. 17 to a tumultuous welcome. Some 50,000 people greeted the wandering newspaperman from Cleveland as a genuine hero — which he was, to be sure.

Manry was startled to learn that he had become a world celebrity. He was amazed that what had started out as a personal, private odyssey had caught the fancy of people everywhere, and he was boyishly delighted to have won such approval. It was strictly a bonus that the trip had brought him fame, though. The most important return, by far, was the fulfillment of a dream.

Those few summer days in 1965 made Bob Manry's life worthwhile. They turned him from Walter Mitty into a real-life hero. More important, what he did was a source of gratification to a whole world of men because his deed reassured them that adventure and heroism and accomplishment still were within reach of all, even the simplest of men.

It's probably important to be reminded of that kind of valor and daring every now and then. Everyone has his own lonely voyage to make and it relieves the loneliness and fear to remember how splendidly men like Bob Manry faced up to the challenge.

THE PLAIN DEALER
SUNDAY, AUGUST 5, 1979

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 29, 1979

If Black English Isn't a Language, Then Tell Me, What Is?

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By James Baldwin

ST. PAUL DE VENCE, France — The argument concerning the use, or the status, or the reality, of black English is rooted in American history and has absolutely nothing to do with the question the argument supposes itself to be posing. The argument has nothing to do with language itself but with the *role* of language. Language, incontestably, reveals the speaker. Language, also, far more dubiously, is meant to define the other — and, in this case, the other is refusing to be defined by a language that has never been able to recognize him.

People evolve a language in order to describe and thus control their circumstances, or in order not to be submerged by a reality that they cannot articulate. (And, if they cannot articulate it, they *are* submerged.) A Frenchman living in Paris speaks a subtly and crucially different language from that of the man living in Marseilles; neither sounds very much like a man living in Quebec; and they would all have great difficulty in apprehending what the man from Guadeloupe, or Martinique, is saying, to say nothing of the man from Senegal — although the "common" language of all these areas is French. But each has paid, and is paying, a different price for this "common" language, in which, as it turns out, they are not saying, and cannot be saying, the same things: They each have very different realities to articulate, or control.

What joins all languages, and all men, is the necessity to confront life, in order, not inconceivably, to outwit death: The price for this is the acceptance, and achievement, of one's temporal identity. So that, for example, though it is not taught in the schools (and this has the potential of becoming a political issue) the south of France still clings to its ancient and musical Provençal, which resists being described as a "dialect." And much of the tension in the Basque countries, and in Wales, is due to the Basque and Welsh determination not to allow their languages to be destroyed. This determination also feeds the flames in Ireland for among the many indignities the Irish have been forced to undergo at English hands is the English contempt for their language.

It goes without saying, then, that language is also a political instrument, means, and proof of power. It is the most vivid and crucial key to identity: It reveals the private identity, and connects one with, or divorces one from, the larger, public, or communal identity. There have been, and are, times, and places, when to speak a certain language could be dangerous, even fatal. Or, one may speak the same language, but in such a way that one's antecedents are revealed, or (one hopes) hidden. This is true in France, and is absolutely true in England: The range (and reign) of accents on that damp little island make England coherent for the English and totally incomprehensible for everyone else. To open your mouth in England is (if I may use black English) to "put your business in the street": You have confessed your parents, your youth, your school, your salary, your self-esteem, and, alas, your future.

Now, I do not know what white Americans would sound like if there had never been any black people in the United States, but they would not sound the way they sound. *Jazz*, for example, is a very specific sexual term, as in *jazz me, baby*, but white people purified it into the Jazz Age. *Sock it to me*, which means, roughly, the same thing, has been adopted by Nathaniel Hawthorne's descendants with no qualms or hesitations at all, along with *let it all hang out* and *right on! Beat to his socks*, which was once the black's most total and despairing image of poverty, was transformed into a thing called the Beat Generation, which phenomenon was, largely, composed of *uptight*, middle-class white people, imitating poverty, trying to *get down*, to *get with it*, doing their *thing*, doing their despairing best to be *funky*, which we, the blacks, never dreamed of doing — we were funky, baby, like *funk* was going out of style.

Now, no one can eat his cake, and have it, too, and it is late in the day to attempt to penalize black people for having created a language that permits the nation its only glimpse of reality, a language without which the nation would be even more *whipped* than it is.

I say that this present skirmish is rooted in American history, and it is. Black English is the creation of the black diaspora. Blacks came to the United States chained to each other, but from different tribes: Neither could speak the other's language. If two black people, at that bitter hour of the world's history, had been able to speak to each other, the institution of chattel slavery could never have lasted as long as it did. Subsequently, the slave was given, under the eye, and the gun, of his master, Congo Square, and the Bible — or, in other words, and under these conditions, the slave began the formation of the black church, and it is within this unprecedented tabernacle that black English began to be formed. This was not, merely, as in the European example, the adoption of a foreign tongue, but an alchemy that transformed ancient elements into a new language: *A language comes into existence by means of brutal necessity, and the rules of the language are dictated by what the language must convey.*

There was a moment, in time, and in this place, when my brother, or my mother, or my father, or my sister, had to convey to me, for example, the danger in which I was standing from the white man standing just behind me, and to convey this with a speed, and in a language, that the white man could not possibly understand, and that, indeed, he cannot understand, until today. He cannot afford to understand it. This understanding would reveal to him too much about himself, and smash that mirror before which he has been frozen for so long.

Now, if this passion, this skill, this (to quote Toni Morrison) "sheer intelligence," this incredible music, the mighty achievement of having brought a people utterly unknown to, or despised by "history" — to have brought this people to their present, troubled, troubling, and unassailable and unanswerable place — if this absolutely unprecedented journey does not indicate that black English is a language, I am curious to know what definition of language is to be trusted.

White Americans would not sound the way they sound if there had been no blacks

A people at the center of the Western world, and in the midst of so hostile a population, has not endured and transcended by means of what is patronizingly called a "dialect." We, the blacks, are in trouble, certainly, but we are not doomed, and we are not inarticulate because we are not compelled to defend a morality that we know to be a lie.

The brutal truth is that the bulk of the white people in America never had any interest in educating black people, except as this could serve white purposes. It is not the black child's language that is in question, it is not his language that is despised: It is his experience. A child cannot be taught by anyone who despises him, and a child cannot afford to be fooled. A child cannot be taught by anyone whose demand, essentially, is that the child repudiate his experience, and all that gives him sustenance, and enter a limbo in which he will no longer be black, and in which he knows that he can never become white. Black people have lost too many black children that way.

And, after all, finally, in a country with standards so untrustworthy, a country that makes heroes of so many criminal mediocrities, a country unable to face why so many of the non-white are in prison, or on the needle, or standing, futureless, in the streets — it may very well be that both the child, and his elder, have concluded that they have nothing whatever to learn from the people of a country that has managed to learn so little.

James Baldwin is author of "The Fire Next Time" and "Notes of a Native Son," among other works.

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THE WASHINGTON POST, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1979

William Raspberry

Reading, Writing and Dialect

I have just finished reading, in The New York Times, James Baldwin's eloquent defense of "black English," and I am fascinated.

What fascinates me is not merely the fact that his piece is datelined St. Paul de Vence, France, or that, like most defenses of the peculiar dialect of the black American slums, it is written in flawless *standard* English.

What fascinates me is that Baldwin's article is not a defense of black English at all, but a paean to black *slang* and its influence on standard English.

These are not the same things, and we're not likely to settle the debate now raging over the "legitimacy" of black English until we understand the difference.

Baldwin's examples, for instance, include "let it all hang out" and "put [one's] business in the street."

This is slang—the deliberate substitution of words or phrases for standard words or phrases that the speaker also knows. Black English has more to do with tenses and syntax, the way words are arranged or omitted.

"She is a foxy mama" is not black English, but slang. Anyone who uses the expression knows that "foxy" has nothing to do with small, dog-like animals and that "mama" has no reference to maternity.

"She a beautiful woman," on the other hand, is black English because of the missing copulative "is."

"Don't you be at the Madison Coffee Shop?" is a black English question for which there is no unambiguous standard English counterpart. "Aren't you at the Madison Coffee Shop?" is the standard English version. But ask me that question on the telephone and I won't know whether your reference is to my present location or to my lunch-time habits.

But even this misses the point of the current debate over black English. What is at issue is not the question of definitions but the question of what the schools should do about black English.

Should teachers try to learn black English? Should they merely learn to respect it as a legitimate separate language? Should they try to eradicate it and install standard English in its place? Or should they simply proceed to teach the standard without reference to black English?

The answers, it seems to me, must vary with the skills, the attitudes and the personalities of individual teachers.

One teacher might be effective with a you-teach-me-your-language-and-I'll-teach-you-mine approach, while another using the same approach might come off as a big phony.

One teacher might find that it works well to accept correct answers in any dialect whatever, while, at the same time, trying to teach standard English. Another might find more effective the Berlitz total-immersion method, in which only standard English is permitted in the classroom.

Only two things strike me as mandatory. First, teachers must learn, and keep reminding themselves, that a child who comes to school speaking black English (or any other dialect) is not on that account less intelligent, less admirable or less anything else than the child whose home language is standard English.

Second, they must understand, and convey to their children, that while it is necessary to learn standard English for use in the classroom or on the job, other dialects may be more appropriate for other circumstances.

Black English may be as appropriate on the playground or in a fight as the archaic thee-and-thou style is in church or at prayer. Both would be out of place in the classroom or in the personnel office.

The trick for teachers is to help their children become fluent in the standard dialect without making them feel inferior because of the dialect they learned at home.

As Baldwin put it: "A child cannot be taught by anyone who despises him."

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Washington Post
September 24, 1979

William Raspberry — Washington Post 9/24/

Black English: Merely A Manner of Speaking

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Teachers at the Martin Luther King Elementary School, in Ann Arbor, Mich., will have to take a 20-hour course in "black English."

The course is part of the school district's response to a recent federal district court ruling that "black English" must be recognized as a separate dialect, distinct from standard English, and that its use is not to be taken as an indication of a child's inability to learn.

Judge Charles W. Joiner's basic ruling, for all the misapprehensions, misconceptions and ridicule that have surrounded the case, makes some sense.

It seems reasonable to warn teachers against misinterpreting speech patterns or test scores of the children they teach. Some speech patterns—mishandling of certain diphthongs, or the dropping of copulative verbs or final consonants, for instance—may indicate speech defects or even learning disability in a child whose home language is standard English. ("Dey goin'" instead of "They are going.") The same patterns in children whose home language is "black English" may indicate nothing pathological whatever.

Knowing the difference can determine whether a child is sent off to a speech pathologist, labeled "learning disabled," or kept in the regular classroom for instruction in reading.

The Ann Arbor course is supposed to help teachers learn to make the distinctions between pattern and pathology. A hearing on the plan is scheduled for today. It's impossible to predict whether the plan will work—or even to know how to determine whether it works or not. But one thing is easy enough to predict: that the suit, the judge's ruling and the plan designed to implement that ruling will all be misinterpreted as a scheme to reinforce in black children speech patterns that will do them long-term harm.

Gabe Kaimowitz, the attorney for the 11 plaintiffs in the case, stresses over and over that the case is not about teaching black English, or denying the necessity of teaching standard English.

"The case is really about teaching children to read," he insists. "It is not an accident that King is an elementary school. If these children had been in high school, I wouldn't have brought the suit.

"What we are talking about is teaching children to read without turning them off, without teachers deciding, on the basis of their speech patterns, that they cannot learn.

"The fact is that children who are black and poor tend to have this pattern, and a lot of people make the mistake of thinking that they are unintelligent because of it.

"I want the children to learn to speak standard English, of course. The schools have to see to it that they learn it. But the first thing is to teach them to read."

If that is how it turns out, Gabe Kalmowitz will get no opposition from me.

What makes me nervous is my fear that some teachers will misinterpret what has happened in Ann Arbor to mean that there is no need to insist that children learn standard English.

If black English is a valid language, and if it serves the fundamental purpose language is supposed to serve—communication—then why not just let the children continue speaking the way they do?

> *"The case is not about teaching black English, or denying the necessity of teaching standard English. 'The case is really about teaching children to read.'"*

The answer is that language communicates not just the idea *of* the speaker but also ideas *about* the speaker. And one of the principal notions conveyed by the use of black English is a lack of intelligence.

Indeed, that is what the Ann Arbor case was about: teachers inferring mental limitations from the fact that their children spoke a nonstandard dialect. The 20-hour course is designed to help a handful of teachers at one particular school learn that the inference is invalid.

But who is supposed to teach the rest of society? Will employers and college admissions officers and screening committees have to undergo 20-hour courses in black English (and other low-prestige dialects) in order to learn that speech styles are not necessarily a measure of intellectual ability?

It makes far more sense to me that schools should accept it as a major part of their responsibility to give their students fluency in the high-prestige dialect we call standard English. It may be the most important thing the schools will ever do.

THE PLAIN DEALER, THURSDAY, AUGUST 30, 1979

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What that case is about

By Howard A. Mims

The recent "black English" lawsuit in which U.S. District Judge Charles W. Joiner ruled in favor of 11 black children in Ann Arbor, Mich., was not brought in an effort to force the teaching of black English in the schools. The judge's ruling will not have the effect of causing children to speak black English.

Unfortunately, much of what has been written on the editorial pages of The Plain Dealer and elsewhere has reflected a grave misunderstanding of the issue before the court and of the judge's ruling. It is also apparent that the writers do not have a clear understanding of the nature of social dialects.

Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, epitomized this dissemination of misinformation in his comments which appeared in the Cleveland Call and Post July 14:

"Once more, the question of whether so called 'black English' is a distinctive language that should be taught in the schools is rearing its ugly destructive head ... The effort to require black English in the public schools is a sin and a crime ...."

Directly contradicting Hooks' assumptions is this statement from the official "memorandum opinion and order" filed by Judge Joiner July 12: "This is not an issue on the part of the plaintiffs to require that they be taught 'black English' or that their instruction throughout their schooling be in 'black English,' or that a dual language program be provided ... This is a cry for judicial help in opening doors to the establishment ... "

Those protesting the ruling most vehemently would certainly agree with Joiner's statement that "Children need to learn to speak and understand and to read and write the language used by society to carry on its business, to develop its science, arts and culture, and to carry on its professions and government functions. Therefore, a major goal of the school system is to teach reading, writing, speaking and understanding standard English."

For further clarification, the judge's opinion goes on: "The issue before this court is whether the defendant (Ann Arbor) school board has violated Section 1703(f) of Title 20 of the United States Code as its actions relate to 11 black children ... It is alleged that the children speak a version of 'black English,' 'black vernacular' or 'black dialect' as their home and community language that impedes their equal participation in the instructional programs, and that *the school has not taken appropriate action to overcome this barrier.*" (Italics mine.)

The court found that the 11 children had not developed reading skills and as a result were at a distinct disadvantage in their school's instructional program. Their teachers testified that they did not take the children's home dialect "into account in helping the students read standard English."

This failure of the teachers to take the children's home language into account is the *key and pivotal issue* in the judge's ruling.

Based on this finding, Joiner reasoned that "failure on the part of the defendant (school board) to develop a program to assist their teachers to take into account the home language in teaching standard English may be *one of the causes* (italics mine) of the children's reading problems."

The learning barrier referred to by the court was not found to exist because the teachers did not understand the pupils' conversational dialect as was incorrectly assumed in an Aug. 13 Plain Dealer editorial. Not only could the teachers understand the children, the court also concluded that the children could understand the teachers.

In addition, the children were found to be able to switch to standard English while in school.

The barrier occurred, reasoned the judge, because of the teachers' *attitude* toward their students' home and community dialect. The following excerpts from the judge's opinion explain his thinking on "teacher insensitivity."

"The research evidence supports the theory that the learning of reading can be hurt by teachers who reject students because of the 'mistakes' or 'errors' made in oral speech by 'black English' speaking children who are learning standard English. This comes about because 'black English' is commonly thought of as an inferior method of speech, and those who use the system may be thought of as 'dumb' or 'inferior' ... In the process of attempting to teach the students how to speak standard English the students are made somehow to feel inferior and are thereby turned off from the learning process."

The remedy urged by the 11 plaintiffs was that the Ann Arbor school board be required to "identify each student who speaks 'black English' and then use the best of the knowledge ... to teach the children how to read and write standard English."

First of two articles

Educators, linguists, speech pathologists and others will be looking with interest to see how the teacher training plan submitted by the Ann Arbor school board will be implemented.

This ruling, in my opinion, is not "preposterous" or a "cop-out" as stated in the Plain Dealer editorial. It is a reasoned and moderate judgment based on the expert testimony of leading scholars in socio-linguistics.

In fact, the ruling could ultimately be a landmark decision having far-reaching effects on teacher education programs, and thereby on the lives of untold numbers of black children and others who speak non-prestige or nonstandard dialects.

I wonder if some who criticized the judge's ruling read his opinion with care and whether their preconceived notions about the nature of language and of social dialects colored what they read.

Educators and the general public need to know more about this subject. There is a need for information about the true nature of spoken language and of social dialects.

Educators, especially, need to be familiar with scientific studies on the harmful effects suffered by pupils and other speakers as a result of the reactions of teachers and other listeners who reject certain dialects.

Howard A. Mims, Ph.D., is an associate professor in the department of speech and hearing at Cleveland State University. He lectures on black English as it relates to education and teaches a course on this subject. He is the host of "Images," a CSU-sponsored radio forum heard Sundays on WJMO-AM at 2 p.m. and on WDOK-FM at 4 a.m.

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THE PLAIN DEALER, FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1979

On 'Black English'

A language with rules

By Howard A. Mims

For one year, teachers in the Martin Luther King Elementary School in Ann Arbor, Mich., will learn about "black English," as ordered by U.S. District Judge Charles W. Joiner in a case brought by 11 black children.

This teacher training program will be designed to enable teachers to recognize "black English" features and, hopefully, to instill in the teachers respect for "black English" as a legitimate dialect.

For information about a nonstandard dialect to have meaning, teachers must understand some basic facts about the nature of language and of dialects.

In my frequent lectures on this subject to educators here and in other parts of the nation, I have found gross misconceptions about the nature of dialects and of languages. In addition, I have discovered that educators are largely unaware of studies which show that teachers' reactions to certain dialects sometimes unintentionally interfere with the process of successfully teaching certain children.

To help correct this situation, I introduced into the curriculum of the department of speech and hearing at Cleveland State University the course, "Seminar in Urban Language Patterns." Unfortunately, too few colleges and universities offer a course of this nature.

Teacher education programs should provide training on this subject for any student who might work in communities where nonstandard dialects are commonly spoken.

Such a course would include detailed information about the nature of language and basic facts and concepts of modern linguistic theory.

Systematic and rule-governed differences exist between languages. Specialists in this area, the linguists, observe languages and note their systematic differences.

Second of two articles

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Each language is a collection of similar dialects. Dialects, like languages, differ from each other in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and prosody.

The dialects of the English language, for example, have more similarities than differences. Thus, speakers of different dialects of the same language can communicate with relative ease.

When the systematic rules of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and prosody differ so greatly that communication between two individuals is impossible, they are, by definition, speaking two different languages.

Every speaker of a language speaks some dialect of it or a combination of dialects. No single dialect of a language is *the* language. But in every language there is a continuum in terms of prestige from the lowest to the highest. High-prestige dialects are called standard dialects, and low-prestige dialects are called nonstandard dialects.

A dialect derives its prestige from the power and influence of those who speak it. The dialects of those of power, influence and education become the standard dialects of a language, and the literature, science and records are written using the vocabulary and grammar that approximates the standard dialects.

Unfortunately, we learn dialect prejudices just as we learn prejudices about groups of people. The prejudice is often compounded when scorned persons and scorned dialects are combined. Historically and sociologically this has happened to black people in this country.

"Black English," then, is a dialect of English, spoken in some degree by about 80% or more of black speakers at one time or another. It is as systematic and as rule-governed as any other dialect. The teachers' knowledge of these systematic rules will help them respond appropriately to the "black English" speaking child.

If a teacher tries to teach standard English pronunciations to this child without understanding the rule differences between the two dialects, the teacher's efforts will be random and ineffective. The teacher might incorrectly conclude that the child is "dumb" or "stubborn" or both. The child will most likely meet with frustration and failure.

Teachers must be careful not to reject the offerings of children who may, for instance, read aloud in class using "black English" pronunciations for standard English texts. If reading comprehension has taken place, the teacher should convey pleasure with the child's comprehension. The child has a right to benefit from this success and should be made to feel good about his abilities.

Our language is as close to us as our skin, and our person is assaulted when our language is attacked or rejected. This is a psychological fact of life to which teachers must be sensitive.

The teacher has to build on the dialect the child brings to school, as the child may only have this form of communication at his, her disposal. The child is reinforced in the use of this language by family and peers who also speak it.

We tend to absorb the speech patterns of those we love, admire and with whom we identify. When the child's dialect is rejected, the child experiences a sense of shame which embraces self, loved ones and community. It is in this delicate area of the child's psyche and self-worth that the teacher must tread carefully.

Once the "black English" speaking child masters the rules of standard English, there must be motivation and the opportunity to use the new standard English rule system with speakers with whom he or she identifies. The child must want to be a part of this new world of standard English speakers if this optional way of expression is to be learned.

At the same time, the child must feel free to use the community language without having any stigma attached to it. The problem of dialect prejudice is in the ear and mind of the listener and not in the mouth of the speaker.

Mims is an associate professor in the department of speech and hearing at Cleveland State University. He also is the host of "Images," a CSU-sponsored radio forum heard Sundays on WJMO-AM and WDOK-FM.

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Walt Wolfram

Sample Composition
Appalachian English

It was a long time ago we lived[1] coal[2] city[3]. My father he[4] was working in the mines and my mother stayd[5] home. It was prity[6] nice their[7] and we didn't live but[8] two mile[9] from the hard top[10]. We was gone[11] to school right there and didn't have to walk to[12] far. My sisters was[13] borned[14] at home but I was[15] borned[16] in the hospital. We didn't have no[17] animals at our house but ever[18] oncet[19] and awile[20] a stray animal come[21] to the house. My best friend had a pet possim[22] till they had to get rid of it. I wish I had me[23] a dog but my mother she said that we could'nt[24] take care of it if we had it. Thats[25] one thing I always wante[27] a dog[26] but I was never abel[28] to get one. Theys[29] a hole[30] lot you can do with a dog if you get one. You can take them hunting and just have them kep[31] you company round[32] the house. Practicaly[33] all my kin folk has[34] one. I know I gone[35] to get one when I have my own house.

1= organization/coherence
2= mechanical
3= dialect difference

1. 3 No prep
2. 2 Capitalization
3. 2 " "
4. 3 pleonastic pronoun
5. 2 spelling
6. 2-3 spelling r metathesis
7. 2 spelling
8. 3 adverbial but
9. 3 plural with weigths/measures
10. 3 lexical difference
11. 2-3 concord, spelling gone
12. 2 spelling
13. 3 concord
14. 3 regularization of verb
15. 3 concord
16. 3 regularization of verb
17. 3 negative concord
18. 3 adverb ever
19. 3 intrustive t
20. 2 spelling
21. 3 past tense form
22. 2 spelling
23. 3 personal dative
24. 2 contraction rule
25. 2 apostrophe
26. 1 stylistic focus
27. 2 spelling
28. 2 spelling
29. 2-3 existential they, apostrophe
30. 2 spelling
31. 2 spelling
32. 3 unstressed syllable deletion
33. 2 spelling
34. 3 concord
35. 2-3 spelling, based on pronunciation

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Writing Influence: A Vietnamese English Example

Lost in a Storm

As I was playing on my grandfather's farm a blizzard[1a] suddenly appeared. and[2b] I was so scared and I called my grandfather's[3a,b] and He[4b] said __[5b] what is it __[6b] I say[7a] to him there is an blizzard[8a] outside and my grandfather's[9a,b] got a big stick and hit him. and[10b] the lizzard[11a] ran away and[12b] one night when I went to sleep a wolf came to my barn and stole some of my cow[13a] and[14b] one morning I walkup[15a] and one of my cow[16a] were[17a] missing and I called my grandfather's[18b] and He[19b] said __[20b] what is it__[21b] and[22b] one night we make[23a] a hole and there is[24a] many fire[25a] under the hole __[26b] and the sand were[27a] on[28a] the hole. and[29b] we went to sleep and The[30b] wolf came to our barn and when he step[31a] on[32a] the hole He[33b] fall[34a] down and burn[35a] him[36a] and[37b] he die[38a] __[39b] We live[40a] happily after[41a].

Black English Writing Sample

This leve all doing very well so fore. But Jonas yet sick. He be better some days and some days he don't.

So we have move. Flossie lives out south now. Lillian bes over there most of the time.

Jonas just soon he get better he going write you.

You all ask did the children go away for summer. No, they was at home.

I hope you and Gale is O.K. We glad about the new baby come so come back to Chicago ware you all will have a baby sitter in that me.

Thank you for send the package. You all don't know how it help out.

Jonas say it was a letter from you in it was a money order in it. See, he put it on the table in someone came to look at the house when they laft he did fine it was gone. But we got it back so I am sending it you so you all can send a other one.

Don't think heart of me for not done wrote you all before know. I will write more next time. We all sent love. This all tell next time.

Dear Professor WALT WOLFRAM
University of District of Columbia
and Center for Applied Linguistics
Washington District of Columbia
The United States of America

Dear Prof. WALT,

I am sorry to take the liberty of typing you this letter without your permission. I am a young Chinese and also a faithful reader of your articles published in the issues of AMERICAN SPEECH. Your brilliant exposition in the articles cannot but call forth in me a feeling of profound respect to your studies after enjoying them. These articles are so quite original that they are stated not only reasonably but vividly and vigorously. I cannot help feeling that they are rare specimens of good writing and always incessantly make me want to become your student as they are read again and again. I ardently love American English and I am quite interested in studying it.

Now I am a shop-assisant serving in Shanghai, China at the age of 24, only in the eveningshave I time to study American English without anyone's help, that means I study it only by myself, so I am poor in it but eager for the knowledge of standard American English. Your articles are worth reading and studying from which I benefited considerably. If I can become your student to learn it, I will feel greatly honoured. You are topnoch, estimable and a learned scholar in my mind. I hope there is a good outlook for your studies in future. I am terribly sofry to have given you such a lot of trouble.

My best wishes,

Your truly,

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DIALECTS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS

(With Emphasis on The Dialectal Characteristics of Black Americans)

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